C.O.
935

FOR THE USE OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE

MIDDLE EAST

No. 64

(PART I.)

CO 935/21

CONFIDENTIAL

NARRATIVE DESPATCHES

FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR PALESTINE

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

REPORTING ON THE

SITUATION IN PALESTINE

FROM

26th SEPTEMBER 1937

TO

31st DECEMBER 1938

(PART 2 OF THIS VOLUME CONTAINS SIMILAR DESPATCHES COVERING THE PERIOD 1st JANUARY, 1939, TO 20th AUGUST, 1939.)

CLOSED UNTIL 1970

21

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No. 1

THE OFFICER ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT

to

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Received 28th October, 1937.)

(SECRET)

Jerusalem, 14th October, 1937.

Sir,

1. I have reported to you by telegraph the successive developments in the situation in this country since the 26th September, but I feel that the time is now opportune to give you a full account of the events which have taken place since the tragic murder of Mr. Andrews and British Constable McEwan in Nazareth.

2. The story of the murder may be briefly told. As Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pirie-Gordon accompanied by Mr. Andrews' escort Constable McEwan were walking to Evensong at the Anglican Church in Nazareth, they were set on in the narrow twisting road leading to the Church by four Arab assassins. Constable McEwan, who was walking behind Mr. Andrews, was shot first and died within half an hour without regaining consciousness. Mr. Andrews was killed outright and Mr. Pirie-Gordon who slipped as he turned to go to Mr. Andrews' help, had a miraculous escape as while he was on the ground, several shots were fired at him.

3. Within twenty minutes of the murder all the roads in the Galilee District had been closed by the Police; but despite this promptness, the murderers made good their escape and have not been arrested. At dawn on the 27th, the police dogs which had been sent overnight from Jerusalem, were taken to the scene of the murder and given scent from two different tracks both of which led to the main Nazareth - Haifa road, where they lost the trail. Subsequent enquiry indicates, however, the possibility that the murderers took to the hills on foot and were not picked up by a waiting motor car, as was at first suspected.

4. Immediately after the murder Mr. Keith-Roach arrived from Haifa and took over temporary charge of the Galilee District, and during the night of the 26th/27th September I gave orders for the arrest of all suspects in the District. Forty four were taken that night and by the 30th September, altogether one hundred and ninety six orders of detention in Acre Detention camp had been signed.

5. Next morning the two bodies were conveyed to Jerusalem by road. Their passage across the Emek where the Jewish population turned out en masse to pay their last respects, and later through Samaria by way of Jenin and Nablus, created a deep impression; and at the funeral in the afternoon which I attended officially with the General Officer Commanding the British Troops in Palestine and the Executive and Advisory Councils, a very large number of the British and Jewish Communities was present and also a few Arabs, including Dr. Hussein Khalidi, the Mayor of Jerusalem. The two men were buried with military honours side by side in the British Cemetery overlooking the Valley of Hinnom.

6. The news of the murders spread very rapidly and created a deep impression among all sections of the population, and on the 27th September, I published a notice expressing the deep regret of the Government. Later in the day the Arab Higher Committee issued a statement deploring the crime and condemning its perpetrators, and on the following day the Vaad Leumi issued its statement in which Mr. Andrews' service towards Palestine generally and the Jewish National Home in particular, was eloquently described.

7. On the 28th September, all the Arabic daily newspapers published the statement of the Arab Higher Committee without comment; but on the following day, by which time a considerable number of political undesirables had been placed in the Acre Detention Camp, they opened their columns to comment on the lines that while no section of the Palestine population was more sincere than the Arabs in their condemnation of the two murders and of terrorism in general, the Government was far from justified in exploiting the tragic event by imprisoning without trial hundreds of innocent Arabs.

8. On the 29th September, further evidence became available that this was the official version of Arab reaction, in the shape of a request to me by the Arab Higher Committee to receive them as a body. I realized that they proposed to make an official protest over the arrests and refused to see them, intimating that I was prepared to consider what they had to say if they addressed me by letter. Their written protest reached me on the morning of the 1st October.

9. On the 30th September I received your final telegram of instructions and proceeded to put them into immediate execution according to arrangements which I had previously made with the General Officer Commanding British Troops in Palestine and the Acting Inspector-General of the Palestine Police. No arrests were made during the day but police leave was stopped and in the evening the Force stood to while the troops were in readiness.

10. The necessary Defence Regulations had already been prepared covering the issues of deportation, the declaration as unlawful associations of the Arab Higher Committee and the National Committees in Palestine, and the deprivation of Haj Amin Eff. Al Husseini of his two posts of President of the Supreme Moslem Council and Chairman of the General Wakfs Committee. These Orders were published on the 1st October and I am enclosing copies* for your information.

11. It had been known overnight and it was even published in the local Press on the morning of the 1st October, that Police leave had been stopped, but although the news had caused some comment, it is nevertheless a fact that the action which you had authorized and which was put into operation at dawn on the 1st October, completely took the country by surprise, and, in fact, the first intimation that reached the public generally that anything was afoot, was when they learned that the telephone service had been suspended on my orders during the period when the arrests were due to be effected.

12. Dr. Hussein Khalidi, the Mayor of Jerusalem, and Fuad Effendi Saba, the Secretary of the Arab Higher Committee, had been taken early in Jerusalem and a few hours later Ahmad Hilmi Pasha, the Treasurer of the Arab Higher Committee and the Director of the Arab Bank Limited, was apprehended in Gaza; and early in the afternoon, these three gentlemen were placed on board H.M.S. "Sussex" which had arrived at Haifa late on the previous evening. They were joined on board by Rashid Haj Ibrahim, the Manager of the Haifa branch of the Arab Bank Limited, whose arrest for deportation I had ordered earlier in the day.

13. The remaining two members of the Arab Higher Committee against whom warrants had been issued, Yacoub Effendi Ghussein and Jamal Effendi Al Husseini, could not, however, be found during the day; but early on the following morning Yacoub Effendi Ghussein surrendered himself to the Police at Ramleh and was embarked at Jaffa at mid-day on board H.M.S. "Active", to which the other four deportees had been transferred from H.M.S. "Sussex" on the previous evening. H.M.S. "Active" then left for the Seychelles whither she is proceeding direct.

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* Not reprinted.

14. Jamal Effendi Al Husseini has not been arrested, and is believed to have escaped into Syria where he is reported to be living in Damascus.

15. This narrative must now revert to the morning of October 1st and to Palestine.

16. As soon as I had ascertained that four of the deportees were in the hands of the police, I raised the suspension of the internal telephone service with the exception of four lines in Jerusalem, two belonging to the Supreme Moslem Council, one to Haj Amin Effendi Al Husseini and the fourth to the Moslem General Congress. These four lines are still suspended. Simultaneously, however, I used my powers under Regulation 12 of Defence Regulations 1936 and prohibited the use of all telephones - except a very limited number of official and consular lines - for the purpose of effecting or receiving trunk calls with and from countries outside Palestine. This precaution prevented the spread of untrue and exaggerated reports being sent out of Palestine to the foreign Press and elsewhere in neighbouring Arab-speaking countries; and with the same object in mind, I also ordered a censorship of all press telegrams to Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia and further of all local telegrams containing messages of a political nature. These prohibitions were subsequently lifted at mid-night on the 5th/6th October.

17. I did not impose a censorship on press telegrams to Europe and I am glad to say that, with few exceptions, the local correspondents of the British and European Press were commendably restrained and accurate in their reports.

18. At 12.15 p.m. on the 1st October by which time the prayers in the Mosques had been made without any incident, I issued Official Communiqué No. 16/37 the contents of which were communicated to you by telegram.

19. Just previously, I saw Dr. Bernard Joseph, who in the absence of Mr. Shertok, was temporarily in charge of the Jewish Agency and acquainted him with the contents of the Communiqué, which was later broadcast at 7 p.m. and again at 9 p.m. in the three official languages from the Studios of the Palestine Broadcasting Service.

20. Earlier in the afternoon I had forbidden the issue by several local newspapers of broad-sheets containing the terms of the Communique, as I was anxious to prevent the gathering of probably excited crowds in the streets of the towns.

21. Simultaneously with the issue to the local press of the terms of the Official Communiqué, I had thought it advisable in the interests of public safety to address all Editors under Regulation 11(3) of Defence Regulations 1936 prohibiting them from making any reference to or comment on the events of the day in their columns until further notice.

22. The last action taken by me that day was to order a search of the Jerusalem premises of the Arab Bank Limited by the police accompanied by officials of the Treasury.

23. That there was no open reaction to the measures ordered by Government throughout the whole day of the 1st October, was largely due to the fact that the news of the day's events only filtered slowly through the country and, indeed it was not until the 7 p.m. broadcast that they were at all generally known.

24. During the following day, the 2nd October, however, the public gradually became aware of the scope of the action taken; but beyond a ragged demonstration of Arab youths in Jerusalem which by threats forced almost all the shops in the Old City and a few elsewhere in the outlying

quarters of the town to close their shutters, no incident of any magnitude occurred. But on the next day - Sunday - the movement to close the shops had made certain progress and was effective in varying degrees not only in Jerusalem, but also in Jaffa, Safad, Gaza and Tulkarm.

25. During the night of the 3rd/4th October, there was a case of sabotage on the Lydda - Jerusalem railway involving the cutting of telephone lines and the wrecking of a railway water-tank, while four shots were fired on a party of railway workers when they were removing some stones which had been placed on the track. Suitable action was at once taken against two villages from the direction of which the shots had been fired.

26. Already by the evening of the 4th October the shop-shutting movement had lost whatever momentum it had ever had, and by the 5th October, it had completely petered out. An attempt was made to ascribe this collapse to an appeal issued by Haj Amin Al Husseini in the form of a manifesto calling on the Arabs to return to work. But in reality the movement was never more than a half-hearted affair. Intimidation generally failed and in Jenin where the movement persisted longest, an order from the Assistant District Commissioner to re-open the shops was complied with without delay or fuss.

27. As I have already stated, I removed at midnight on the 5th/6th October, the prohibition laid on the local press to mention or comment on the events of the 1st October; but when an intimation to this effect was made to all the Editors, I caused a letter to be sent to each of them, drawing their attention to the terms of Section 19 of the Press Ordinance and warning them against the publication of comment likely to provoke inter-racial animosities or of false reports or false rumours.

28. It was thus possible to exert a considerable control on the tone and accuracy of the local newspapers, but, as was perhaps inevitable, the press of the neighbouring Arab-speaking countries, which circulates freely in this country, was at once filled both with a type of comment which was likely to, and probably designed to foment trouble and also with the wildest reports which had no foundation in fact. In the end, the danger of the circulation of these comments and reports became sufficiently serious for me to impose, on the 7th October, a general censorship of all Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese newspapers entering Palestine. This censorship is still in operation.

29. There remained the question of the control of pamphlets such as had been issued by Haj Amin Al Husseini on the 4th October; and to meet it, I caused censors' orders under Defence Regulation 11 (5) to be issued declaring all printed matter (including photographs and pictures) dealing with Haj Amin's movements and activities to be prohibited matter and liable to seizure by the Postal and Customs authorities or by the Police if it was found in this country.

30. I am enclosing with this despatch a copy of a memorandum by the District Commissioner, Northern District. It will serve to supplement the narrative which I have already given. I wish to refer you in particular to paragraphs 12 and 30 of Mr. Keith-Roach's memorandum, and to associate myself fully with his appreciation of the work accomplished by Mr. and Mrs. Blackburne, Dr. Mac Lean, Mr. Foot, Mr. Pirie Gordon, Mr. Faraday, Mr. Barker and the Police of the Northern and Galilee districts. They deserve the greatest credit for the way in which they faced a situation fraught with potential danger and for the calmness and energy with which they handled the tragic and difficult situation with which they were faced.

31. Finally I would wish to bring to your notice the outstanding services rendered by Mr. Keith-Roach himself. He acted throughout with energy and decision and was a constant source of encouragement and

inspiration to those working under him, and I am most grateful to him personally for his help.

32. I have already sent you on the 10th October, by telegram my appreciation of the situation on that day, and I propose to keep you informed on similar lines as and when occasion demands.

33. From the standpoint of public security the country has been undisturbed for the last week with the exception of one armed hold-up on the 9th October on the Jenin - Nablus road when five cars were stopped by a barricade of stones across the road and their occupants robbed by four armed Arabs.

I have, &c.,

W. D. BATTERSHILL,

Officer Administering the Government.

Enclosure in No. 1

(CONFIDENTIAL)

THE CHIEF SECRETARY

9th October, 1937.

Subject:- Assassination of Mr. L. Y. Andrews, District Commissioner, Galilee, and Mr. P. R. McEwan, British Constable.

I submit the following Report for the information of the Officer Administering the Government.

On Sunday evening, September 26th, a few minutes past 6 o'clock I was informed by telephone that Mr. Andrews, Acting District Commissioner, Galilee, and his Police guard, British Constable McEwan, had been murdered as they were going up the narrow lane to evening service at the Anglican Church in Nazareth. Mr. Pirie-Gordon, who accompanied them, had escaped being hurt.

2. I informed the Officer Administering the Government of the occurrence by telephone and said I would go immediately to Nazareth, with which he concurred.

3. I picked up Mr. Faraday the D.D.S.P. of Galilee - himself in sore distress - who was spending the evening in Haifa in attendance on his newly married wife who is in Haifa Hospital having been suddenly stricken with infantile paralysis and is lying there paralysed from the waist downwards.

4. We reached Nazareth before 7 and I found Mr. Blackburne calm and collected in the office and Mr. Pirie-Gordon obviously shaken at the horror of the ordeal he had passed through but bearing up extremely well.

5. Two weeks before the murder Mr. Andrews had told Mr. Pirie-Gordon that he was expecting an attack from Saffuriya village near Nazareth. A search of Mr. Andrews' personal papers carried out by Mr. Blackburne and Mr. Pirie-Gordon produced a list of the dangerous characters of this village, and a party of Police were sent immediately under A.S.P. Ring to effect arrests, round up the villagers and find out who were absent from their houses.

Piquets had been placed on all roads preventing cars from leaving

the town and a curfew had already been imposed by Mr. Pirie-Gordon on the special authority of the Officer Administering the Government.

6. I ascertained that Mr. Andrews - who had taken particular precautions during the last few months, never travelling in his motor-car without two armed policemen, having an armed policeman outside his bedroom door in the hotel in which he lived and an armed policeman in the garden at night under his window - had been in the habit of proceeding to the Anglican Protestant Church in Nazareth every Sunday at the same hour. The church is on the top of a little hill and is actually reached through a courtyard where the bell-ringer lives and the court-yard itself is at the top of a steep lane. Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pirie-Gordon reached the end of the lane in their cars at the same time. They started to walk up the lane with the policeman behind them and after crossing a little cross-lane Andrews pushed Pirie-Gordon in the side, calling "Run for your life"! The constable was shot down and subsequently fired at while he was on the ground. Mr. Andrews, as he rushed to the very steps of the courtyard was shot evidently through the jugular vein, and the assassins later - as he fell - poured further shots into the body and then fired at Mr. Pirie-Gordon who mercifully at that moment fell over some spilt water and so his life was spared.

7. A curfew was immediately put upon Nazareth and all was quiet in the town.

8. The bodies of Mr. Andrews and his escort had been taken to the mortuary but Dr. MacLean, the doctor in charge, had suggested that they be transferred to Haifa as the mortuary was at present occupied by another body. The bodies were therefore brought back to the Police yard and I requested instructions from the Chief Secretary as to whether his Excellency desired the burials to take place in Jerusalem or in Haifa. I subsequently received instructions that the burials were to take place in Jerusalem.

Having personally viewed the bodies, despite the painfulness of the occasion I requested Dr. MacLean - who had himself seen the murder of the constable from the church wall - to assist Dr. Tucktuck, the local Medical Officer of Health, to perform an autopsy as I considered it essential that bullets - if there were any - should be extracted. This was carried out.

9. Some days previous to this assassination we had, on the instructions of the Officer Administering the Government, revised all lists of persons whom it might be desirable to arrest should an emergency arise. These lists had been divided into two portions:-

(a) Terrorists, and

(b) Political suspects.

Instructions were received by telephone from the Acting Chief Secretary that all persons in lists (a) and (b) throughout the Northern and Galilee Districts were to be arrested. Accordingly, instructions were issued to every District Officer and to the Police throughout the Districts and by the early hours of the morning of Monday 44 persons had been arrested in Galilee, 44 in Haifa and 21 in Samaria. I consider the work of the Police in making these arrests excellent as it was done with precision and speed.

10. At the request of the D.D.S.P. Galilee I retransferred Police control of Acre sub-district to the D.S.P. Haifa and instructed Mr. Barker to assume command there again.

11. Before midnight Mr. Kingsley-Heath and Mr. Fitzgerald, both of the Criminal Investigation Department, arrived and we gave them such detailed information about the murder as we then had.

12. Finding everything was proceeding satisfactorily in the two districts, I retired to bed in the early hours of Monday morning.

I cannot, however, close this account of the day's proceedings without expressing our sincere thanks to Mrs. Blackburne. In our hour of need when calmness was essential, she set an admirable example to everybody and rendered just that efficient moral and spiritual help to soothe jaded nerves.

13. Early on Monday, the 27th, the Police dogs arrived in Nazareth and subsequently on test proved that the assassins had - after committing the deed - gone via a devious route leading to the main road and had evidently escaped in a waiting motorcar, and the car had left too soon after the incident for it to be caught up by the Police patrols that had been thrown out to guard the exits of Nazareth.

Although the murderers must have obtained first hand knowledge of Mr. Andrews' movements and also the lanes of the town, I decided the weight of evidence then available went to prove they were not Nazarines and so I did not advocate a heavy fine being imposed on the town. We must await the final C.I.D. Report.

14. I asked the Chief Secretary for Mr. Gibbs to be sent up to Nazareth to help Mr. Blackburne, and sent Mr. Pirie-Gordon into Haifa to take over my headquarters work as Mr. Scrivenor was in hospital having been operated upon for appendicitis.

15. During the morning, after seeing the bodies of Mr. Andrews and Constable McEwan off - under the care of Mr. Harris who had come up from Jerusalem - in coffins which had been obtained from the prison workshops by Mr. Barker D.S.P. Haifa, I got in touch with all the District Officers. The arrests, although they included several religious personages and Sharia Court officials, did not cause noticeable excitement or tension anywhere.

After assuring myself that tranquility remained throughout the two districts, I left by aeroplane at 2 o'clock for Jerusalem to attend the funeral which was attended by his Excellency the Officer Administering the Government.

16. After the funeral I discussed the whole question of public security with Mr. MacLaren the District Commissioner of Jerusalem and we ventured to submit a joint memorandum of our opinion which I presented personally to the Officer Administering the Government. I then returned by car to Haifa.

17. The 28th and 29th were spent in checking up such terrorists and undesirable politicians who were still at large and by the end of Wednesday we had "picked up" the following persons:-

Haifa, Rural, Acre	61
Samaria	31
Galilee	104

18. My general impression was that there was some genuine grief in parts of Galilee and Haifa at such a lovable, simple man as Andrews, who had rendered great service to the people, being killed but on the whole Arab callousness for life and the absence of any word for murder in their colloquial language prevented them from expressing such feelings as may have been touched. In Samaria and the Jordan Valley, Beisan excepted, where he was less well known, owing to the propaganda which had been conducted against Mr. Andrews for many months past both in the press and elsewhere there was amongst most local Arabs little feeling of sorrow or show of sympathy.

19. On Thursday, September 30th, I received a delegation of Arab Moslem and Christian notables from Haifa who came to express the regrets decided upon at a meeting attended by 70 persons held the day before. At the end of an hour and a half I was impressed by the fact that the expressions of regret were more lip-service to pave the way to ask for the release of those interned under the Emergency Regulations than a true expression of sorrow.

20. Later during the day I proceeded to Nathanya on the coast, preparatory to opening the Great North Road and while I was there I received a personal letter from His Excellency stating the action he was going to take. After the ceremonies were over and I had returned to Haifa in the evening I got in touch with Captain Blagrove of H.M.S. "SUSSEX" which had arrived and made arrangements with him for the reception of those persons whose arrest had been ordered and effected.

21. On Friday, October 1st, we received the persons who had been arrested in Jerusalem and they were taken off at the basin built by the Palestine Electric Corporation.

Having obtained Mr. Battershill's authority for his deportation, I caused the arrest of Rashid Haj Ibrahim - Manager of the Arab Bank in Haifa - who has been a consistent follower of both the Mufti and the policy adopted by His Eminence and the Arab Higher Committee, and he was put on board His Majesty's Ship.

22. I arranged for Mr. Barker, D.S.P., to see the persons leave the shore and I personally saw them arrive in the ship and then handed His Excellency's warrants to the Captain.

1. Ahmed Hilme Pasha, General Manager, the Arab Bank.
2. Dr. Khalidi, Mayor of Jerusalem.
3. Fuad Saba, Accountant.
4. Rashid Haj Ibrahim.

23. Early on Saturday October 2nd the deportees were transferred outside the harbour to the destroyer H.M.S. "ACTIVE" which left for Port-Said. As however one other person was arrested at Jaffa, she was recalled to embark the last of the passengers, Yacoub Ghussein, for Seychelles.

24. On Sunday October 3rd memorial services for Mr. L. Y. Andrews and Mr. P. R. McEwan were held at Haifa in the morning and Nazareth at night. In the service we tried to express praise and triumph. I enclose the order of service.

The services were well attended by all communities and at Haifa the French and Italian Consuls were present, and representatives of His Majesty's Forces.

At Nazareth all the local religious heads were present including Catholics, Moslems and many Jews.

I attended both services and read the lesson.

25. A half-hearted attempt to shut up shops at Haifa, October 3rd, was quickly suppressed, but strikes at Tulkarm that day and subsequently at Nablus and Jenin took firm handling and persons had to be arrested and orders issued to open under 14A of the Emergency Regulations. The Safad Mayor also had to be talked to very severely.

26. Little tension or excitement was caused by the action taken by the Officer Administering the Government against members of the Higher Committee: indeed, both villagers and townspeople appear to have a sense of relief and seem anxious to continue their occupations in peace.

A few extremists who are still at large and cannot yet be traced will undoubtedly do their utmost to create fresh trouble.

27. The result of the swift action taken has undoubtedly had a three-fold reaction. It has firstly restored some confidence in the Administration. Secondly, it has been a great shock to Arab opinion as they at last realize that the Mandatory power will not give way to intimidation and, thirdly, it has made it possible for more moderately minded people to consider reviewing the whole question, and has undoubtedly done a great deal to reassure the Emir Abdullah and his friends in Palestine.

28. While therefore I do not suggest the policy of partition will be any more popular, at the same time it means that any further Commission sent to this country will possibly have a chance of hearing more moderate Arab opinion than heretofore. Many Arabs have been to see me privately in various places and have expressed to me their satisfaction at the firm hand Government has taken.

29. The Jewish community, while stunned by the shock of the death of an official who had proved himself a friend - as indeed he had to the Arabs - nevertheless openly congratulate Government on what they believe is the opening up of a new era.

30. I would add the following about Dr. MacLean and my colleagues.

Dr. MacLean of the Scottish Hospital at a time of great personal distress carried out the autopsy.

Mr. Blackburne's quiet and efficient grasp of the abnormal situation made my presence in Galilee almost unnecessary. His appreciation of what to do and general conduct were admirable.

Mr. Foot, Assistant District Commissioner, Samaria, acted with most commendable swiftness and understanding, and undoubtedly his handling of the attempt at striking in his three principal towns saved a situation from developing.

Mr. Pirie-Gordon quickly threw himself into the tasks at Headquarters and has been of great service to me.

I consider the work of the Police has been admirable. The Palestinians did not flinch from arresting religious leaders and well known politicians.

Despite his terrible personal sorrow, Mr. Faraday was alert and acted quickly.

Mr. Barker showed exceptional talent in preventing a crisis from arising in Haifa.

I have, &c.,

E. KEITH-ROACH

District Commissioner.

No. 2

THE OFFICER ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT

to

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Received 26th October, 1937.)

(SECRET)

Jerusalem, 23rd October, 1937.

Sir,

In my despatch Secret of the 14th October,* I reported to you in narrative form the events which had taken place in this country between the 26th September and the 13th October, and in my concluding paragraph I was able to say that with the exception of one armed hold-up, there had been no serious breach of public order during the week preceding the 13th October.

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* No. 1

2. On the evening of the 14th October, however, this lull was suddenly and violently broken by a series of outrages which were staged on what would appear to have been a pre-determined time table.

3. Just after dusk, two attacks were made on Jewish buses in the vicinity of Jerusalem. The first of these attacks was made by an Arab bomb-thrower who, owing to the premature detonation of the bomb, was himself killed. The bus was slightly damaged and three passengers slightly wounded. The second attack was made by a party of armed Arabs about five miles outside Jerusalem on the Jaffa Road. The attackers fired at close range into a passing bus, killing one Arab passenger and wounding another. Ten Jewish passengers were also injured - some as the result of broken glass.

4. About the same time a basket containing two live bombs which fortunately did not explode, had been found in a Jerusalem Cafe, which was known to be largely frequented by the British personnel of the Palestine Police.

5. These incidents naturally created great excitement and I issued a curfew order covering the town planning area of Jerusalem at 9.30 p.m.

6. Meanwhile an exaggerated report had been received of an attempt on the evening passenger train from Haifa to Jaffa, according to which the train had been blown up and set on fire causing a large number of casualties. Investigation, however, proved that though the attempt had been thoroughly organized, what might have been a major disaster had been prevented by the coolness and bravery of British Constable Turton who was the Police escort with the train.

7. The attack took place just north of Ras-el-Ain Station. Some rails had been removed by armed Arabs and a mine which failed to explode had been placed on the track. A number of bombs exploded under the rear carriages of the train after the engine had left the line. Immediately after the derailment, the train was attacked by about twelve Arabs who fired into it, fortunately without causing further damage. Some sixty passengers were travelling in the train, the majority of whom were Jews. After firing a number of rounds, the Arabs attempted to board the train, shouting as they did so "Are there any Jews here?"

8. Constable Turton was travelling on the train on duty, though not actually as escort. He was accompanied by an Arab Constable. The former was armed with a service revolver, the latter with a rifle. Constable Turton concealed himself until the first burst of fire was over and did not reply to it, wishing to lead the attacking party to believe that no armed police were on the train. The Arabs then attempted to board the train, whereupon Constable Turton fired at one Arab wounding him. Two of his companions tried to drag the wounded Arab away and Constable Turton immediately took the Arab Constable's rifle and fired at them, killing both. The rest of the Arab band then fled.

9. Constable Turton went to the front of the train where he found the engine driver pinned beneath some coal. The engine was overturned. After extricating the driver, Constable Turton decided to call for help at once and accompanied by the Arab Constable hurried towards Ras-el-Ain Railway Station, some four kilometres to the south. On his way he met an Arab riding a horse which he commandeered and then rode the rest of the way to Ras-el-Ain. On reaching there, he summoned police reinforcements and reported the derailment to headquarters.

10. When the scene of the derailment was examined, two tins of benzine were found beside the line. A rifle and a bandolier of ammunition were found beside one of the two Arabs who had been shot and killed by Constable Turton and whose bodies had not been removed by their companions.

11. It is evident that but for Constable Turton's presence of mind and gallant conduct, the Jewish passengers in the train would have been killed and the coaches set on fire.

12. The rest of the night of the 14/15th was very disturbed especially in the Jerusalem and Galilee districts. There was sporadic shooting of varying intensity on Jewish settlements; the troop train which was transporting the Royal Sussex Regiment to Egypt was heavily fired on in the mountains south-west of Jerusalem; the Iraq Petroleum Company pipe line was damaged just west of the Jordan and the escaping oil ignited; telephone wires were cut on a fairly extended scale; and shortly after midnight a strong police patrol which had been despatched to Hebron where trouble, which happily did not materialise, was feared, was heavily ambushed near Solomon's Pools and Police Constables Harrison and Malia were killed.

13. The following day, Friday, the 15th October, passed without any major incident. Curfew was, however, maintained in Jerusalem. Late in the day, when it was learned that the Mufti had not attended the prayers in the Al Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem, rumours started that he had left the Haram. These rumours incidentally were denied from authorized Arab quarters where it was given out that he was suffering from tonsilitis.

14. The night of the 15/16th October was quiet until midnight and there was a decrease both in the amount of stray shooting and of sabotage of the telephone lines. Shortly after midnight, however, a large party of Arabs penetrated the premises of the Lydda airport and having cut the wires, set on fire and completely burned out the temporary wooden buildings, housing the Customs and passport offices and the wireless installation.

15. During the day of the 16th October, I ordered action against Lydda Town and Qula and Rantis villages in connection with the train incident on the night of the 14th and the burning of the airport on the following night, In Lydda, a twenty three hour curfew was imposed for four days; the collective fine imposed last year of LP. 5,000 was re-affirmed and an order was given for LP. 250 to be collected as soon as possible; two houses were demolished; and forty eight suspects were arrested. In both Qula and Rantis two houses were demolished.

16. The night of the 16/17th was generally quieter, but about midnight some shots were fired on a Jewish settlement near Rehovot and a Jewish boy was killed; and early in the morning of the 17th, an attempt was made to blow up a culvert on the Jerusalem - Jaffa road.

17. Late in the afternoon of the 17th, three incidents occurred in Jerusalem and its vicinity. A Jewish youth was attacked and severely stabbed by an Arab; an Arab was shot dead in the Old City by an unknown Arab; and a party of Jewish quarrymen who were preparing to return to Jerusalem were heavily fired on but fortunately without injury to any of them. During the night there was a recrudescence of sporadic shooting and three extensive cases of telephone wire sabotage.

18. Shortly after dusk, also on the 17th, a large band of armed Arabs raided the Police Post at Dahariya on the Hebron Road between Hebron and Beersheba. The constables who were having their evening meal, were caught by surprise and after cutting the telephone lines, the raiders seized five rifles and a store of ammunition and decamped. Assistance was brought from Hebron and Beersheba and the following day, the 18th October, a collective fine was imposed on the village of LP. 2,000 to be paid in sheep; and a strong punitive police post was established in the village at the cost of the inhabitants, thirty of whom were ordered to report daily to the Police at Hebron. This punishment was given full publicity by wireless.

19. Early in the morning of the 18th October, two isolated incidents of shooting occurred in Jerusalem.

The two persons attacked were an Armenian (who has since died) and an Arab workman who was only slightly injured. Their assailants have not been arrested and it is believed that they were Jews and that the motive was reprisal.

20. I cancelled the curfew order on the night of the 19th October. It had been in force for four nights.

21. This narrative has not touched on two important developments which have occurred during the period under review - the appointment of a Commission to control and manage the Finances of the Moslem Awqaf in Palestine which was made public on the 16th October and the departure of the Mufti, the circumstances of which are still only vaguely known.

22. I shall be reporting to you again on the lines of this despatch as and when occasion demands.

I have, &c.,

W. D. BATTERSHILL,

Officer Administering the Government.

No. 3

THE OFFICER ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT

to

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Received 23rd November, 1937.)

(SECRET)

Jerusalem, 18th November, 1937.

Sir,

My Secret despatch of the 23rd October* described in narrative form the events which occurred in this country between the 13th and the 20th of the month, and in my telegram No.496 of the 24th October, I was able to report that although isolated incidents of telephone and telegraph wire cutting and some sniping at night had occurred, the normal life of the country had been little affected. This appreciation still applies; for although there have been certain incidents - some of them grave - which are described in the four following paragraphs, there has been no dislocation of communications in the country; acts of sabotage have shown signs of decreasing; and the day to day routine of Palestine life has not been outwardly disturbed.

2. Late in the afternoon of the 26th October, a convoy of potash lorries from the Dead Sea was heavily ambushed half way up the Jericho-Jerusalem Road by an armed gang, estimated at about twenty strong, a Jewish driver being killed and an Arab constable in the escort wounded. The remainder of the escort returned the fire and dispersed the gang and on the following day police dogs trailed an Arab from the scene of the attack to the village of Mukhmas where he was found carrying arms and, after a short resistance, captured. His statements are being investigated.

3. On the 19th and 25th October and on the 1st November there were cases of bomb throwing in or near Gaza Station. No casualties resulted but on one occasion the mail-train to Egypt was held up for an hour.

4. On the night of the 27th October, the "Balfour" Forest near Nazareth was set on fire from two directions and extensive damage was done to the trees.

5. The Iraq Petroleum Company's pipe-line was twice damaged in the eastern end of the Plain of Esdraelon on the 22nd October and again on the 3rd November. On the first occasion the escaping oil was set on fire.

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* No. 2

6. On my instructions the District Commissioners have been energetically using their powers on punitive lines to check lawlessness and outrage and will continue to use those powers fully to meet each separate case as it occurs.

7. I regret to say, however, that instances of isolated murder have recurred during the period under review. I have already reported to you in my telegram No.496 of the 24th October, the five cases of murders and attempted murder including the fatal attack on Mr. Avinoam Yellin of the Department of Education, which occurred on the 21st and the 22nd October.

8. Between the 23rd and the 31st October there followed a second series of outrages and then, after a lapse of four days, there was a further outbreak between the 5th and the 10th of November. For purposes of record, I am describing each incident in detail.

9. The cases of murder and attempted murder between the 23rd and the 31st October are as follows:-

(a) Shortly after midday on the 23rd October, in a western suburb of Jerusalem, a Christian Arab was shot and wounded. He is recovering.

(b) In the early evening of October 24th, a Jew was shot and slightly wounded in a suburb of Haifa. He described his assailant as an Arab.

(c) On the 26th October, shots were fired from a passing motor-car on the Jenin-Haifa road not far from Haifa, at a Jewish youth and girl. The youth was wounded but is recovering.

(d) On the 29th October shortly before sunset a Jewish workman was shot and wounded near Herod's Gate, Jerusalem. He is recovering. Subsequently the police dogs followed a trail round the outside of the City Walls and through St. Stephen's Gate to an Arab café where eight Arabs were arrested.

(e) On the 29th October about an hour after the incident described in (d) above, four Jews, returning from their Sabbath eve prayers at the Wailing Wall were attacked by unknown persons in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City. One of them was shot dead and another wounded. Their assailants escaped. Following on this incident and that described in (d) above, a curfew was imposed on the Old City of Jerusalem between the hours of 6 p.m. and 5 a.m. and a force of twenty additional supernumerary police was drafted into the area for patrol purposes, the cost of their employment to be defrayed by the inhabitants as part of a collective fine. The curfew was raised on the 3rd November, the date of the official opening of the fasting month of Ramadan. This relaxation of the curfew order was accompanied by another order forbidding for the month the sale of intoxicating liquors within the Old City during the hours of darkness.

(f) Two days later, at 11 a.m. on the 31st October, an unknown person described as wearing a hat and European clothes and believed to be a Jew, fired three shots in the Jaffa Road, Jerusalem not far from the District Commissioners' Office. An Egyptian was hit and subsequently died and a Jew seriously wounded. The assailant was not arrested.

10. The outrages between the 5th and the 10th November occurred in and around Jerusalem.

(a) Between 6 p.m. and 7 p.m. on the 5th November two soldiers of the Black Watch were attacked in the Valley of Hinnom. One was shot dead and the other died without regaining consciousness. A Jewish watchman who had seen the attack from a distance, reported that the assailants, whom he described as three Arabs, had escaped in the

direction of the Arab village of Silwan; and after precuutions had been taken to isolate the scene of the crime during the night, a force of Police and Military early the next morning entered the village following the Police dogs who led them to three houses which were searched. In the first house, four rounds of revolver ammunition were found, one of which was of the same calibre as the empties found on the scene of the murder of the two soldiers; in the second there was one round of rifle ammunition; and in the third a bag of gunpowder and some percussion caps. The owners of the three houses were arrested. On entering the village some of the villagers threw stones and attempted to resist and some shots were fired on the troops who replied killing one villager and wounding another. A curfew order was put on the village until further notice that evening.

(b) On the 9th November five Jews, including a Jewish supernumerary Police Constable, who belonged to the Jewish settlement of Kiryat Hanavim ten kilometres from Jerusalem on the Jaffa Road and who were proceeding to road making work in the hills behind the settlement, were shot dead by an armed Arab band, estimated to be eight strong. The Police were promptly on the scene and the dogs followed three trails, the murderers having apparently separated in their flight. All three trails ultimately led to the Arab village of Yalu, where the dogs marked several houses and seventeen Arabs were arrested, one of whom was in a house in which ammunition was found. During the tracking and at the entrance of Yalu village, empty rounds of the same ammunition as had been used for committing the murder were picked up by the Police. During the pursuit the Police received prompt and valuable assistance from the Military who co-operated in the search and from the Royal Air Force who patrolled above the area throughout the day.

(c) On the following day, the 10th November, three shooting incidents occurred in Jerusalem itself just before sunset.

The first victim was an Arab from Ain Karim who was shot dead in the Schneller quarter on the western outskirts of the town by two men whom witnesses of the crime described as Jews.

Subsequently two Jews were arrested on suspicion in a house where, according to onlookers' evidence, the assailants had fled.

The second attack took place in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City where an elderly Yemenite Jew was shot and seriously wounded as he was entering the Yemenite Synagogue. Jewish witnesses of the attack gave evidence that the assailant was an Arab and one man was arrested by the Police.

The third incident also occurred in the Old City. An Arab Sheikh, by name Mahmud Daud al Ansari, a person of some standing and importance, was shot and slightly wounded by another Arab as he was walking past the Austrian Hospice on the road which leads from the Damascus Gate to the Haram esh Sherif. No arrests have been made.

As a result of these two last-named outrages, curfew was at once re-imposed on the Old City.

11. A feature of the situation existing during the period which I have described to you in narrative form in this despatch and in my two preceding situation despatches (Secret) of the 14th and the 23rd October, has been the careful tone adopted by the local Press and in particular by the Arabic newspapers. I have already described to you in my despatch Secret of the 14th October the steps which I took to induce caution and reason among the various editors. These instructions have been taken to heart and I am glad to be able to report that I have not had reason since the 1st October to take any action against the Arabic daily newspapers under the Press Ordinance. It would be incorrect to say that this circumspection is due to other than a healthy respect for

the penalties which all editors know will be inflicted without hesitation should they in any way exceed the limits of comment which I have set. At the same time their caution, from whatever motives, has been welcome and, in a negative way, has been of assistance to Government. The Jewish Press has, on different lines, been equally circumspect. To Jewish editors, of course, the action initiated by Government on the 1st October and consistently pursued since that date has been generally a source of unconcealed satisfaction. Their view was that Government was pursuing a policy long advocated by the Jews and that the Arabs were at last reaping where they had sown. At the same time it has been clear that the Jewish editors have made some effort to keep their comments within the bounds of reason and decency.

12. One Hebrew newspaper, however, the 'Davar', which is the organ of the Federation of Jewish Labour, was suspended for a week from the 24th to the 31st October. The publication of the draft new Immigration Ordinance was received with strong criticism by the "Palestine Post" and the three Hebrew daily newspapers; but generally these criticisms just kept within the limits of fair though bitter comment. The 'Davar' itself in its criticism - quâ-criticism-followed the main lines of Jewish protest; but on the 22nd October it appended to its main editorial the unjustified comment that "the whole document (the Immigration Ordinance) bears witness to a shameful submission to the gangs of agitators and their followers, the destroyers of the country and the enemy of Jewish immigration". I considered the case at once in Executive Council and ordered the action which I have already described. There were protests from Jewish Labour quarters, but I am of opinion that the suspension of so locally powerful a newspaper has had a good effect and, indeed, the editor of another Jewish newspaper of the same way of thinking as 'Davar' subsequently informed the Press Officer that 'Davar' richly deserved all it had got.

13. I have, however, had trouble both with the Arabic Press published in neighbouring Arabic-speaking countries and with the news-services broadcast both in Arabic and English from the two European stations at Berlin and at Bari.

14. The Arabic Press in Egypt, Syria and the Lebanon and, to a lesser extent, in Iraq found a ready market in this country after the events of the 1st October, largely on account of the simultaneous control which I imposed under Defence regulations on the local Press. This control achieved an accuracy in report among the local newspapers which was, perhaps inevitably, construed by a suspicious and sensation-loving public in this country as a suppression of the truth by Government order. Naturally no such control was possible outside Palestine and the newspapers entering this country from neighbouring Arabic-speaking countries lost no time in providing Palestine readers with the wildest reports and comments which, under the circumstances, were eagerly read. I was thus obliged to take action against these newspapers and, in addition to imposing a censor's scrutiny under Defence Regulation 11 (2), no less than fourteen Orders of Exclusion from Palestine were made between the dates of the 9th October and the 8th November. I attach for purposes of record a list of the orders so made. This policy of exclusion has eliminated a good many evil influences from Palestine for a period; and, in addition, the periodic confiscation orders against individual issues of those foreign newspapers which survived exclusion, made by the scrutinizing censor under Defence Regulation 11 (2), have had the effect of making the proprietors of such newspapers as wish to circulate in Palestine, realise that the powers of this Government are adequate to involve them in definite pecuniary losses. The result has been that those newspapers which have not been excluded, have tended towards a certain caution which has justified me in removing as from the 11th November the Censor's scrutiny which I have already described. This scrutiny can be easily and promptly re-imposed, should occasion demand.

15. The question of countering the blatant misrepresentations and untruths broadcast from Bari and in a minor degree from Berlin has caused me considerable concern. I am inclined to believe that the Berlin Radio acts more out of ignorance than from a wish to be mischievous or troublesome; and I am fortified in this belief by the fact that Berlin has been willing on two occasions to publish denials of reports already broadcast on receiving official intimation to this effect from the Jerusalem Correspondent of the Deutsches Nachrichten Bureau - the German Official Agency.

16. I cannot, however, find any reasonable explanation for the persistence with which Bari broadcasts highly detailed items of news which have absolutely no foundation in truth. These false reports have recently concentrated on an imaginary revolution in Trans-Jordan; on fictitious aggression on the Saudi-Arabian frontier; and on demonstrations of British anxiety regarding the future of Aqaba which has perturbed His Majesty's Government to the extent of landing British troops from British warships at the port and moving them to positions covering the Suez Canal. These reports have been promptly and fully denied from the Jerusalem Station of the Palestine Broadcasting Service and by notices sent to and published in the local Press. Nevertheless they persist. It is to me an odd fact that the Italian Consul-General in Jerusalem, whose jurisdiction includes Trans-Jordan as well as Palestine, should not of his own volition have reported to Rome the falsity of this alleged revolution in Trans-Jordan so as to stop the inaccuracies regarding that country which continue to be broadcast from an official Italian Station.

17. Before leaving the question of Bari, I would add that the Arab population here is losing its faith in the accuracy of these reports, which are thus comparatively harmless here. Palestine is so close to Trans-Jordan that revolution or attempted revolution there would be known here within a few hours; but I feel, that in the more remote Arabic speaking countries, these reports may find some credence and I am, therefore, proposing to continue whenever necessary the systematic issue of broadcast démentis from the Jerusalem Station which can be heard in Egypt, Syria, Saudi-Arabia, Iraq and Aden.

18. It is of interest - although I would not stress the fact too strongly - that apart from eloquent appeals to Jewish self-control made by the two Chief Rabbis in this country and by the Vaad Leumi at the end of October, the Ulema of Gaza have also published a manifesto condemning terrorism and sabotage; while, following on the attack on the Potash Convoy on the 26th October which I have described in paragraph 2 of this despatch, the Arab personnel in the Potash Works published a statement deploring the death of their Jewish colleague and the spread of terrorism and sabotage generally.

19. I am closing this narrative on the 10th November and shall be reporting to you again in a similar form as occasion demands.

I have, &c.,

W. D. BATTERSHILL,

Officer Administering the Government.

Enclosure in No. 3

Name of Newspaper	Exclusion No.	Date of Exclusion	Period
Al Istiqlal al Arabi (Damascus)	17	9th October	6 months
Al Muqattam (Cairo)	18	9th October	1 month
Al Insha (Damascus)	19	9th October	3 months
Al Nahar (Beirut)	20	9th October	3 months
Al Jazireh (Damascus)	21	9th October	3 months
Fata al Arab (Damascus)	22	14th October	3 months
Al Jihad (Aleppo)	23	14th October	3 months
Al Nadhir (Aleppo)	24	14th October	3 months
Al Ittihad el Lubnani (Beirut)	25	14th October	3 months
Sowt al Ahrer (Beirut)	26	14th October	3 months
Al Bashir (Beirut)	27	14th October	3 months
Alef Ba (Damascus)	28	29th October	3 months
La Chronique (Damascus)	29	29th October	2 months
Al Jihad (Cairo)	30	8th November	3 months

No. 4

THE OFFICER ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT

to

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Received 6th December, 1937.)

(SECRET B.)

Jerusalem, 23rd November, 1937.

Sir,

1. In my Secret despatch of the 18th November,* I described in narrative form the course of events in this country between the 20th October and the 10th November.

2. With the exception of a series of serious shooting incidents which took place in Jerusalem during the period covered by this present despatch and to which I shall later refer in detail, the general condition of the country outside the capital has improved. On the 12th November an unsuccessful attempt was made to blow up a bridge a few miles outside Jerusalem on the main Jaffa road and there have been a few cases of tampering with telephone and telegraph lines and of haphazard shooting at Jewish settlements, but generally the life of the country has been outwardly undisturbed.

3. In addition I am informed that as a result of the energetic punitive measures which have been and are being taken by the Police and the District Officials in villages which were suspected either of harbouring terrorists or of implication in acts of lawlessness, a number of law-breakers who had entered the country from outside to foment trouble and to commit acts of violence, have been so ill-received by the local inhabitants that they have drifted back across the frontiers whence they came.

4. As I have already informed you, the Defence Regulation establishing Military Courts for the trial of certain types of offence, was published on the 11th November.

This Defence Regulation and my accompanying explanatory Official Communiqué No.20/37 of the 11th November were given the maximum publicity for a week in the Press and by broadcast, and were posted in every village in the country with appropriate translations.

The new Regulation came into force on the 18th November and its terms have, I believe, had a definite psychological effect on the people of the country. They have been specially impressed because the Courts are military, a fact which, in the minds of most, implies something summary and drastic; and the recurring phrase 'the penalty of death' has an ominous ring.

5. On the 15th, 16th and 17th November there was an encounter in the area between the Acre-Safad road and the Syrian Frontier between a Military force and a band of armed Arabs.

As a result of information that Abdulla Asbah, a notorious gang-leader who had for some time been a source of trouble in the Galilee District, and a band of some twenty to thirty armed men had spent the night of the 14th November in the frontier village of Deir el Qasi, troops of the 1st Battalion, the Essex Regiment proceeded to the neighbouring village of Fassuta which lies north of Deir el Qasi, thus placing themselves between the band and their probable line of retreat into Syria.

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* No. 3.

The troops reached Fassuta shortly after mid-night on the 15th November and delivered a surprise attack on the band, three of whom were shot. It is not known whether the three men were killed as they were dragged away by their companions but later three dead horses with blood-stained saddles were found on the scene. One British private soldier received a bad flesh wound in the face. He is progressing favourably.

After this experience, the band quickly disintegrated, the majority, it is understood, returning to their villages in the Acre District, while a subsequent search by the troops and police of the country in the neighbourhood of the encounter produced no results.

One armed man was captured and the Police are investigating his statement that he had nothing to do with the band.

6. On the 11th November an Arab Police Constable was shot and wounded while on sentry outside the Police Station at Bethlehem. On the following day the police dogs followed a trail from the Police Station to a house in the town in which two revolvers, several rounds of revolver and rifle ammunition and a small supply of explosives were found. The two owners were arrested. This incident was greatly exaggerated in the press telegrams sent to London, and that same evening Palestine, to its great surprise, heard in the British Broadcasting Empire News Service that the Palestine Police had unearthed an extensive depot in Bethlehem whence arms were being circulated to the terrorist bands all over the country. I caused a correct version of what had happened to be broadcast later in the evening from the Jerusalem Studio.

7. Four days later, on the 15th November, an Arab was shot dead at dusk in Acre town. He had been used by the Police as an informer.

8. On the 18th November a young Jewish land-worker from the settlement of Tel Amar near Beisan was found murdered. He had been shot and stabbed. His assailants were not discovered.

9. The outbreak in Jerusalem to which I have referred in paragraph 2 of this despatch followed quickly on the shooting of the five Jews of Kiryat Anavim on the 9th November and the three shooting incidents on the following day which I described in detail in paragraph 10(b) and (c) of my Secret despatch of the 18th November.* As a result of the events of the 10th November, I had ordered the imposition of a curfew in the Old City of Jerusalem.

10. The following day, the 11th November, there were two bomb throwing incidents in Jerusalem.

Late in the afternoon a primitive bomb was thrown among a group of Arab labourers in the neighbourhood of the Railway station. It exploded but did no damage and there were no casualties. No trace was found of the assailant.

An hour later, just as the sunset Ramadan gun was being fired, a second bomb exploded among a group of Arabs in a side street below the Jaffa Road and not far from the Post Office. One man was killed and three others, one of whom subsequently died, were wounded. According to eye witnesses who made statements to the police, the bomb which was contained in a box, was either thrown or dropped from a distance. I at once extended the curfew order to cover all the town-planning area of Jerusalem. Later, to correct an unfounded report that the bomb had not been thrown at the Arabs, but had exploded prematurely in their hands when they were preparing to hurl it into a near-by restaurant much frequented by British police constables, I issued an official communiqué setting forth the facts of the case according to the evidence of the eye witnesses. These two attacks were generally believed to be incidents of Jewish reprisals, a view which I am inclined to share although no direct evidence has been forthcoming to inculpate anyone.

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* No. 3.

11. There followed three days of quiet but on Sunday, the 14th, three more incidents occurred in three Jewish suburbs of the town.

Early in the morning two Arabs were shot at in the residential Jewish Quarter of Rehavia. One was killed and the other seriously wounded.

Less than half an hour later in the poor Jewish quarter of Beit Israel on the western outskirts of the town two Arabs were shot, one dying at once and the second shortly afterwards. The incident took place near a building which was in course of construction and where Arabs and Jews were employed together. In the excitement following the shooting, the two parties came quickly to blows and started stone-throwing. Two Arabs were injured and four Jews, one of whom subsequently died in hospital.

Two hours later an Arab bus was heavily fired on when passing through Mahne Yahuda, another poor Jewish quarter in western Jerusalem. Three of its passengers were killed, among them two Christian Arab women, while two Jewish women who were standing in the road where the bus was attacked, were also wounded but only slightly.

12. This quick succession of incidents inevitably provoked a mass of rumours which were extremely hard to check and there was much confusion as to what had actually happened until towards noon when it became possible correctly to assess the truth and to issue corrections of false reports. In the interval, however, the Jerusalem correspondents of the three local Hebrew newspapers either lost their heads or decided to throw all caution to the winds with the result that a series of unfounded reports were telephoned to the editors in Tel-Aviv for publication in the respective afternoon editions.

It was a deplorable exhibition of sensational journalism and I have taken action under the Press Ordinance against all three. Two of them, "Haaretz" and "Haboker", refrained to a slight extent from extreme excess and, as neither had for some time come under the ban of the Press Ordinance, I caused official warnings to be conveyed to each editor with an intimation that any further lapse would earn a period of suspension for the newspaper.

"Davar", however, in addition to publishing every rumour as fact, embroidered their accounts with reports supported by worthless or non-existent evidence that the assailants had been Arabs. I ordered the suspension of the paper for five days from the 17th November.

I would add that less than a month previously I had caused a final official warning to be conveyed to the Editor of "Davar" following on the publication in his paper of a false report of a clash between the police and a crowd of Arabs in Hebron which alleged that there had been casualties on both sides.

13. This action against "Davar" produced the usual protests, but in the end the Editor who was received by the Acting Chief Secretary, admitted that he had been in the wrong. I hope that this lesson will have a salutory effect on his future conduct of the newspaper.

14. As a result of these incidents, I ordered the police to establish punitive posts of ten men in the Beit Israel and Mahne Yahuda quarters at the expense of their inhabitants and also drafted into the Rehavia suburb an extra force of policemen for patrol purposes, the cost of this service to be defrayed by the local householders.

15. It is the general belief in all quarters - both Arab and Jewish - that these three incidents were Jewish reprisals for the murder of the five Jews near Kiryat Anavim on the 9th November and I had no hesitation in ordering the immediate arrest of forty five persons who belonged to the extreme section of the Revisionist Party and had unsatisfactory Police

records. Twenty four of them have been sent to the Detention Camp at Acre and twenty one have been placed under police supervision. This action had a calming effect on the country generally.

16. The reaction to this outbreak in the more moderate Jewish sections was notable. No attempt was made - on the usual lines - to associate Arab terrorists with the crimes and there was a commendably frank recognition of the obvious probability that the assailants had been Jews and an equally frank expression of anger and disgust that Jews of whatever way of thinking should have degraded themselves by such tactics. The initiative in this direction was taken with meritorious promptitude by the Palestine Post, which on the morning following the crimes, published a leader under the title "Black Sunday", the text of which is enclosed for your information. This was followed by public statements on similar lines by the Vaad Leumi and the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

17. The reaction of the Revisionist Press to the arrest of its members was interesting. It naturally attacked Government for its allegedly unjustifiable action; but the bulk of its wrath was visited on the head of the Jewish Agency, which it represented as having inspired the action which I took with the object of publicly discrediting the Revisionist cause in the interests of party politics and orthodox Zionism.

18. A further development arising from the events of the 14th November was an attempt to associate Arab opinion publicly with Jewish opinion in an expression of horror regarding terrorism generally and in an appeal to the population of the country to stamp it out. The results of this attempt have not been happy.

19. On the morning of the 15th November the District Commissioner called an extraordinary meeting of the Jerusalem Municipality. The Jewish Deputy Mayor attended and was supported by the three Jewish Councillors and by three out of four Arab Councillors now in Palestine. The fourth, Yacoub Effendi Farraj, refused to attend on the grounds that he would be present at no Council meetings until Government had replied to his enquiries as to the future composition of the Council following on the deportation of Dr. Khalidi, the Mayor.

The meeting proceeded on the District Commissioner's suggestion to consider the question of an appeal to the people to assist the Government to put a stop to the present terrorist campaign and to publish this appeal together with an expression of their abhorrence of murder. All present agreed to the principle of such a proposal, but it was eventually decided that the public appeal should be made separately, the Arab members signing one for publication in the Arab Press and the Jews following a similar procedure in the Hebrew newspapers. It was therefore perhaps unfortunate that the Deputy Mayor should without further consultation with his Arab colleagues have drawn up a joint resolution based on the discussions and agreement of the morning, and have issued it on his own to the local press and the Jerusalem correspondents of foreign newspapers. It was broadcast that night in a rather theatrical form by the British Broadcasting Corporation and was published in all the Hebrew and in one Arabic newspapers here on the following morning.

In the outcome the Arab Councillors, with some justice, felt they had been manoeuvred into a false position and tersely abandoned all idea of themselves signing an appeal for publication in the Arabic press.

20. The following day an appeal for moderation from an obscure and probably doubtful source appeared in the Hebrew Press unsigned as emanating from a joint body of Arab and Jewish merchants in Jerusalem. Its authenticity was at once challenged by the Arab newspapers and little more has been heard about it.

21. These two episodes are generally explained as being due to a well-meant Jewish desire to influence public opinion against terrorism; but they have been so maladroitly handled that Arab opinion has interpreted them as exhibitions of an underground Jewish strategy designed somehow to jockey Arabs generally into committing themselves politically to the Jews on a far wider scale than that included in the appeal to suppress terrorism of which both sides are heartily sick.

22. On the 15th November I received a delegation from the Palestine Defence Party, consisting of Ragheb Bey Nashashibi, its President, Yacoub Eff. Farraj, its Vice-President, and Mr. Moghannam Moghannam, its Secretary. They stated the political aims of their party along orthodox lines and lodged a series of protests against various actions which I had ordered since the 1st October. In reply, I informed them that I had taken note of what they had said but that I would not embark on a political discussion regarding the future of Palestine. All the energies of Government were concentrated on the suppression of terrorism which I was determined to exterminate at all costs.

23. Two days later, on the 17th November, I received a deputation of Arab ladies, headed by Mrs. Moghannam. Their specific protest was in connection with the murder of the two Arab women in the bus on the 14th November which I have described in paragraph 11 of this despatch. Otherwise their representations followed generally the lines of those of the Palestine Defence Party. I returned a similar reply to that described in the preceding paragraph.

24. I am closing this narrative on the 23rd November and am thus able to include in it the story of the capture on the night of the 21st/22nd November of Sheikh Farhan es Sadi. As I have informed you by telegraph, he and three other Arabs arrested with him will be tried by the Military Court at Haifa tomorrow, the 24th November.

He has been a prominent figure in our troubles for the last two years. Originally he was employed in the Palestine Police, but leaving it, he associated himself with the activities of the notorious Sheikh al Qassam who was killed in an affray with the Police in November 1935, and whose name occurred in the Annual Reports for 1935 and 1936 and who was also mentioned in the Report of the Royal Commission. At the time of Sheikh al Qassam's final outbreak, Sheikh Farhan was in disagreement with the policy of violence against the police advocated by Sheikh al Qassam; but he apparently revised his views during the ensuing six months, and during the troubles last year he was, with Fauzi al Kawokji, one of the most prominent gangsters in the country. It is believed that he was wounded on more than one occasion in encounters with the troops and the police, and when the Arab Higher Committee in October 1936 abandoned their policy of violence, he, with other leaders, escaped from the country and it is understood took refuge in the Hejaz. He re-appeared some two months ago and since then has been one of the main inspirations of the terrorist campaign which we have been dealing with since September.

Two days ago, on the 21st November, acting on information received that Sheikh Farhan was sheltering in the Jenin District, a military force from the Haifa Brigade, working in co-operation with the police, carried out an encircling movement of the hill village of Al Mazar, nine kilometres north east of Jenin, and after a well executed manoeuvre in appalling weather, took the village completely by surprise shortly after midnight. In the ensuing search the Sheikh was captured in a house where he was found hiding in a corn bin. Three other Arabs, all of whom were wanted by the Police, were also arrested and four rifles, fifteen hundred rounds of ammunition and some revolvers were seized.

The operation reflects the greatest credit on the 2nd Battalion, the East Yorkshire Regiment, who were the troops employed, and on Mr. H. M. Foot, the Assistant District Commissioner, Nablus, who represented the Civil authorities during the events.

25. Since the 18th November, there has been a lull and no incidents of terrorist activity of any importance have been reported for the last five days.

26. Copies of this despatch are being sent to Cairo, Baghdad, Jedda, Delhi, Beirut, Damascus and Amman, to whom copies have already been sent of my previous narrative Secret despatches of the 14th and 23rd October and the 18th November.

I have, &c.

M. D. BATTERSHILL.

Officer Administering the Government.

Enclosure in No. 4

From the 'Palestine Post' of the 15th

Jerusalem's Black Sunday

Last night's communique, colourless as its language is, summarising the outrages in Jerusalem yesterday morning will be read with the deepest grief by every humane person in the country of whatever community or affiliation. Not only is the harvest of death - five Arabs and one Jew - as high as any recorded except during the mass attack of Arabs upon Jews in 1929 and again in April 1936 (always excepting the five young Jewish workmen struck down at one fell blow at Kiryat Anavim last Tuesday) but there is a very strong suggestion that in these outrages Jews were among the assailants. In sorrowing over the deaths of innocent Arab labourers and peaceable wayfarers - two Arab women and an unidentified Arab - every Jew must ask himself if it can indeed be true that Jewish miscreants fired some of these shots. There is of course no evidence one way or the other, except the perhaps purely fortuitous circumstances that the Arabs were shot down in or near districts inhabited by Jews.

But however vague the evidence, however faint the suspicion, the Jews will lose no time in instituting a searching self-examination in order to discover whether there has not occurred some fissure in their moral defences. Not because there has been the ghastly total of five Arab victims, but if there was but one whose death pointed to a Jew's guilt or complicity, the depraved wretch or wretches would have to be excommunicated. Indeed, it is doubtful whether such gentry are properly of the Jewish community, and whether they are not the agents of some alien interests which has made it its business that the sun shall not set on Jerusalem without some bloody deed intervening. Whoever these agents are who seem to be outside the reach of the Jewish authorities who have solemnly given expression, time and again, to their repugnance to violence and their abhorrence of counter-violence - whoever they are, they must be found, faced and dealt with. The Jewish community need not be told that not by such means will the blood of the Kiryat Anavim martyrs be avenged. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of Zionism. It is not the seed of savagery.

The fact that during the last twenty months life has been made cheap can give the Jews no excuse for a further depressing of its value. The Jews have many grievances - and their principal one is that after April 1936 shooting had proved to be effective in obtaining redress of Arab grievances, real or fanciful - but they will not stoop to the Arab terrorists' way of thinking that force is a permissible means of gaining one's end. Not only is it inconsistent with the Jewish way of life, not only does it run counter to their true interests, but it is a derogation from a moral plane for the sake of which the Jew is hammering once more at the door of the Holy Land.

No. 5

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

to

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Received 7th March, 1938.)

(No. 179)

Jerusalem, 25th February, 1938.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit a summary of the main events in Palestine which have occurred during the first half of February. The events of January were reported in my telegrams Nos. 35 and 38 dated respectively the 28th and 31st January.

2. The major incidents connected with Public Security during this period have been reported to you in my telegrams Nos. 53 of the 7th February, 56 of the 9th February and 68 of the 15th February. The last fortnight has shown a lessening of tension in the towns, but the sporadic reappearance of armed gangs south of Jerusalem and in the neighbourhood of Tulkarm and Acre has kept alive that feeling of uneasiness among Jews and Arabs alike to which I have already alluded. At the same time there was a feeling of relief that the 'Eid al Adha (Kourban Bairam) feast from the 11th to the 14th February passed off without incident.

3. In Arab quarters the main subject of discussion continues to be the possibility of finding a solution of the Palestine problem other than by way of partition; and there has been much conjecture regarding the alleged negotiations to this end which are said to have been conducted by Nuri-es-Said Pasha in Egypt, London, the Lebanon and Syria during the past six weeks. There has been considerable interest in the reports of his allegedly unsuccessful attempt while in Beirut to induce the Mufti to issue a Manifesto in the name of the Arab Higher Committee urging a cessation of the acts of terrorism in this country.

It is now, however, generally believed that Nuri's efforts are unlikely to produce tangible results.

4. There has been considerable speculation of an almost fantastic character regarding the visit to Saudi Arabia of Princess Alice and the Earl of Athlone. The supposed objects of the tour have been discussed with endless variations and in some quarters it has already been magnified into a diplomatic mission vested with paramount powers to settle outstanding Arab problems.

It is, however, true that irrespectively of the rumours which this Royal visit to King Abdel Aziz has evoked, it is appreciated in Palestine Arab quarters.

5. The Jewish Community Elections were held in Jerusalem on the 7th February and although the number of voters had almost doubled since the previous elections six years ago, the relative state of the parties remains practically unchanged with Labour holding 10 of the 31 seats and the Revisionists 4, the remainder being divided among eight other parties none of whom holds more than three seats apiece.

6. On the 3rd February Dr. Weizmann made a farewell speech to the General Zionist Confederation at Tel Aviv before leaving for England: in it he re-affirmed his faith in the principle of partition.

7. The local Press as a whole continues to be fairly circumspect. It has, however, been necessary to suspend two newspapers during the

under review. The 'Jami'a al Islamiya', a daily paper published in Jaffa, was suspended for two weeks as from the 10th February for reproducing from a foreign newspaper a series of most undesirable cartoons. The punishment was doubly deserved as the Editor had previously been warned that all cartoons should be submitted to the Press Officer before publication. The second suspension concerned "Palestine and Trans-Jordan", which is a weekly journal of ultra-Arab Nationalist views published in Jerusalem in English. The offending article appeared in the first issue of the journal on emerging from a period of suspension for three months inflicted last October, and consisted of a violent attack on Government action during the last three months. This periodical will not re-appear for another three months.

8. The tone of the Arab Press in neighbouring countries has become increasingly hostile in its comments and increasingly inaccurate in its reports on events in Palestine.

These comments and reports emanated mainly from a newly established Arab Propagandist News Agency in Damascus called the "Maktab al Arabi al Qumi" (The Arab National Bureau), whose activities became eventually so notorious that His Majesty's Consul General in Beirut protested officially to the French High Commissioner asking that steps should be taken to check the flow of anti-British propaganda. The French High Commissioner thereupon caused the Editors of the Lebanese Press to be severely warned and spoke personally in the same vein to the Syrian Prime Minister in regard to the Damascus Press. But the démarche was quite unavailing, with the result that the following papers have been excluded from Palestine - "Al Youm" of Beirut for six months; "Fata al Arab" and "Al Balagh" of Damascus for six months each; while "Al Ayyam", also of Damascus, has had a current period of exclusion extended for an additional month. I attach for information a list of all the foreign newspapers which have been excluded since the beginning of this year.

9. It is proposed, unless you or my successor would prefer otherwise, to continue to send you narrative despatches on the foregoing lines periodically at convenient intervals throughout the year.

I have, &c.,

W. D. BATTERSHILL,

for High Commissioner for Palestine.
(on tour).

No. 6

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

to

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Received 28th March, 1938.)

(No. 241) Jerusalem, 22nd March, 1938.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to Sir Arthur Wauchope's despatch No. 179 of the 25th February* in which he described in narrative form events taking place in this country between the 1st and the 15th February.

2. In my predecessor's telegrams Nos. 80 of the 18th February, 82 of the 21st February and 89 of the 28th February, which were followed by my three telegrams Nos. 100 of the 5th March, 103 of the 9th March and

* No. 5

119 of the 16th March, the major incidents connected with public security between the 18th February and the 16th March were reported to you in detail.

3. Conditions in the Southern District remain good on the whole and in the city of Jerusalem they have improved. Since the initiation of increased police control and patrolling, there has also been an almost total absence of armed violence on the Jerusalem-Jaffa road where during January and the first week of February public security had been frequently disturbed. Hold-ups, shootings and sabotage on the Jerusalem-Hebron road, however, persist, and in general the atmosphere of uneasiness to which my predecessor referred in his despatch of the 25th February* continues to dominate both Arabs and Jews.

4. In the Galilee District and the Samaria division of the Haifa District the activities of the armed gangs have been renewed and during the past fortnight there have been two major and three minor encounters with them. I have reported in my telegrams Nos. 100 of the 5th March and 106 of the 9th March such details of the military operations near Umm el Fahm on the 4th March as were then available. Since then fuller information of the course and results of the encounter have been obtained.

5. Acting on reports which had been received that a large armed Arab gang was concentrated in the neighbourhood of Silhat al Harithiya and Al Yamun villages some ten miles west of Jenin, orders for a thorough search of the two villages in question and of the area to the west of them were issued by the Military Authorities on the 3rd March, and on the following day about noon a detachment of the 1st Battalion of the Border Regiment, which was moving towards Yamun, was fired on from the high ground between the village and the main Jenin-Haifa road. The troops immediately attacked and with the co-operation of aircraft inflicted heavy casualties on the band which proved to be that which was being sought, and forced it to withdraw hurriedly. When withdrawing the band divided into two parties which retreated independently. One retired in a westerly direction towards Anin village where it was attacked by and suffered further casualties at the hands of the 2nd Battalion the Queens Own Royal West Kent Regiment, the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force, and aeroplanes of the Royal Air Force which throughout the afternoon worked in close and effective co-operation with the ground forces.

The retreat of the second party of the original Arab band was southwards towards Al Barid village. Throughout it was closely pursued by the Border Regiment who kept touch with it until darkness fell. As I have already informed you, there were four casualties in the Border Regiment, namely one private soldier killed and one officer, one corporal and one private soldier slightly wounded.

The full extent of the Arab casualties will never be known but they are estimated to be about seventy killed. The bodies of thirty men were collected in the subsequent search operations over the area; sixteen prisoners were taken of whom four were wounded; and a large quantity of arms and ammunition was captured.

6. The second major military operation to which reference is made in my telegram No. 119 of the 16th March took place on the 10th and 11th March to the west and north of Safad where the presence of several bands had been reported. Early in the morning of the 10th, a series of military columns moved eastward from Tarshiha and in co-operation with aircraft and the police quickly effected contact with an armed gang which after suffering casualties - nine bodies were later collected and one prisoner was taken - retired precipitately into the difficult mountain country of Jebel Jarmaq. The advance continued throughout the day towards Safad and, just after nightfall, there was a further encounter near a village north of the town with an armed party which was trying to break back through the cordon and cross the frontier into the

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* No. 5

Lebanon. During this affray, one British soldier was killed and one Arab was killed and one Arab and a woman wounded. Later, another armed Arab, who incidentally was wanted by the police, was killed when trying to enter Mejdel Krum village on the Acre-Safad road. During the day of the 11th the troops continued to search the area but no further contact was made with the bandits.

7. During the month of February, my predecessor paid a series of farewell visits in different parts of the country. The Municipalities of Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, Tel Aviv and Nazareth and several other public and private bodies arranged receptions in his honour which were attended by large and representative gatherings from all the communities. As you are aware, Sir Arthur Wauchope relinquished his office on the 1st March after an official farewell ceremony in Jerusalem. His departure was made the occasion both in the Arab and the Hebrew Press of warm testimony to the value of the work which he had done in Palestine, especially towards the improvement of the lot of the farming classes, both Arab and Jewish.

8. I landed at Haifa on the morning of the 3rd March and later in the day in Jerusalem was sworn in by the Chief Justice at Government House in the presence of some two hundred guests including the Consular Corps and representatives of all sections of the community.

9. On the evening of the following day, I broadcasted a message to the people of Palestine through the Palestine Broadcasting Service. I enclose a copy of the text of that message. It became at once the topic of considerable comment both in the Arab and the Jewish Press.

10. The Arab newspapers after describing my address as being "devoid of challenge and provocation" concentrated particularly on the phrase which I had used "Man cannot live by bread alone". This they interpreted as evidence of a frank dismissal on my part of 'the commercial idea on which the Jewish national home has been built'. A further comment on similar lines sought to stress that 'the life of a nation is not merely a matter of lining one's pockets', the argument being fully developed as evidence that Great Britain had tardily recognised that Arab aspirations could not be side-tracked by Jewish claims directed to proving that their pecuniary contributions towards the material development of Palestine had fundamentally contributed towards the benefit of the Arabs in general. Economic benefits, it was asserted, were illusory. What was really required was a change of policy and it was thus all the more regrettable that, whatever might be said, 'the broad lines of the Palestine policy were always framed in London'. The only possible solution of the Palestine problem could be through a change of policy; for the Arabs desired to co-operate with the Empire; but this co-operation must be preceded by a revision of British policy which would give Palestine independence instead of retaining it under the present Mandate.

Another Arab editor contrived to interpret the fact that my message contained no mention of the word 'partition', as implying that partition was the inevitable fate of Palestine. There was also some criticism of my comment that 'those who are on the side of peace, deserve all the help that can be given to them'. This was represented as a misunderstanding on my part of actual conditions in Palestine today, where a unanimity of Arab thought exists without any kind of schism. The same editorial comment concluded with the remark that 'it was the duty of the new physician to invent a new cure for the ills from which the country was suffering.'

Finally there was some comment on those phrases in my message which were interpreted as evidence that I intended to maintain an attitude of complete impartiality as between Arab and Jew. "We do not doubt" wrote the 'Falastin' "that the new High Commissioner will never deflect from

the path of strict neutrality. But we are bound to state that whenever reference is made to London, many Arab suspicions are roused and many hopes are dashed. Arabs have no fear of his impartiality, but they do fear the authorities in London who lay down the lines of policy in this country.

11. The Hebrew Press discussed the message with marked caution. My reference to the determination of the Government to restore law and order was described as a welcome and definite stand against terrorism and as a warning to the destructive elements in the country who believed that the international confusion now existing could be exploited by them without fear of punishment in order that the Mandated territory might be turned into a building ground for castles in the air.

But to these comments were added several locally topical criticisms. It was stressed with acidity that I had only mentioned the Mandate in connection with the restoration of law and order; that I had omitted all mention of the Jewish National Home; and that I had pointedly quoted the alleged 'impatience' of the Jews whereas all that Jewry was demanding was salvation and the support of Jewish constructive enterprise. "We merely protest and fight against any tendency involving the strangulation of our creative work and the undermining of the foundations of our redemption".

Considerable Jewish exception was also taken to my quotation "Man cannot live by bread alone". All Jews, ran the comment, reject any tendency - whatever its origin - to interpret these words as implying that Jewish rights to immigrate into Palestine and to develop the country do not depend on Jewish economic achievements. "What we want is free immigration, since Palestine is to Israel not only a geographical area to be developed as the economic solution of our distress, but our political, national and historic home".

12. The Arab Press has taken deep interest in the full reports of the visits of Princess Alice and the Earl of Athlone to King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud in Arabia and all their movements have been fully and very favourably recorded. What appealed most to Arabs in this country was the fact that, when Her Royal Highness was the guest of the King near Jedda, she was careful to observe Moslem convention and sat down with His Majesty veiled and wearing Arab costume.

13. Considerable interest was shown in the five days' trial before the Jerusalem Military Court from the 7th to the 12th March of two Arabs - one an American subject with a Columbia University degree and the other a Lebanese - on a charge of throwing a bomb from their car at a Jewish workmen's cafe just off a main street of the Jewish commercial quarter of Jerusalem. The evidence for the prosecution naturally was all Jewish and the defence consisted only of evidence of character and the fact that the American Arab had come to Palestine to marry a wife (which, incidentally he did while on bail awaiting trial). The American Consul-General or his representative was in Court each day and the proceedings were closely followed by reporters of American newspapers and agencies. On the conclusion of the evidence, the court adjourned to the scene of the crime and tested the theory of the prosecution on the spot, using the actual motor car from which the bomb had allegedly been thrown. The two men were subsequently acquitted. The case attracted considerable attention to the methods of the Military Courts and the thoroughness and patience of their inquiry were greatly appreciated, especially in American quarters.

14. During the past week Viscount and Viscountess Samuel have been visiting Palestine. They have stayed in Haifa, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and everywhere have had a warm reception from the respective Jewish communities.

15. The attempted circulation in Palestine of Arab inspired propaganda pamphlets printed outside Palestine is increasing and during the last three weeks, four such pamphlets have been prohibited by the Censor under Defence Regulations. Two of them were anti-Semitic - one describing Jewish designs on the Haram es Sherif in Jerusalem; the other reprinting an Arabic version of the notorious 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion'. The third was a libellous attack on the Amir Abdulla's political and moral past. The remaining publication referred to alleged British atrocities in Palestine since October and to the feats of arms accomplished by the gangs in their struggle against British Imperialism. An order of exclusion from Palestine has, also, been made in the case of a Syrian paper 'Al Mustaqbal' for the publication of untrue and highly inciting reports on recent events in this country.

I have, &c.,

HAROLD MACMICHAEL,

High Commissioner for Palestine.

Enclosure in No. 6

TEXT OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE HIGH COMMISSIONER'S BROADCAST MESSAGE

Jerusalem. 4. 3.38

I am anxious to take this early opportunity of addressing a brief message to all who live in this country. My object in doing so is to greet them and invoke their assistance in the difficult task which has been entrusted to me by His Majesty's Government, while at the same time making clear from the first where I stand in regard to certain paramount considerations.

It would be foolish for me to try to enunciate in detail what I shall do and what I shall not do in this or that respect. It must, of course, depend upon the course of events and such appreciation as I can form of the various factors which will require to be taken into account. At present, as you will readily realize, I am sure of little but the incompleteness of my own knowledge of conditions and personalities. None the less I may state quite simply and frankly certain principles which will in any case guide my actions.

The first is the duty to maintain the authority of His Britannic Majesty and the firm establishment of law and order. That is a duty not only implicit in the terms of the mandate, but also imperative in the interests of the inhabitants of this country, of the Empire which I serve, and of the welfare of that still wider world which regards this Holy City with veneration. The second guiding principle I set before myself is to give the fullest support to the Executive who assist me, whether military or civil. Their task has been an unenviable one, involving ceaseless worry, mis-representation and danger, and calling for efficiency and discretion of a high order. They are carrying out their orders, and they have the right to be sustained by confidence that for just so long as they are doing so they will have no lack of backing.

So too, there must be many, of every creed and nationality, who from the bottom of their hearts deplore the state of affairs that has of late disgraced this country and have done their best in public or in private to mitigate the evil. I have still to gauge their numbers and, so far as may be possible, to sift the true from the false, but, whether they be

few or many, those who are on the side of peace deserve all the help that can be given them. It is, indeed, to them that we must look in particular for that cleansing of public opinion that will permit of a general restoration of perspective and sanity, and the creation of an atmosphere of reconciliation in which all can settle down to the avocations of an orderly life.

So far as concerns the development of the country I need hardly say that there will be no slackening of effort, but it is obvious that the pace of progress has been hampered, and may continue to be hampered, by the lack of security and goodwill. Upon the restoration of those cardinal prerequisites depends the question of acceleration or delay. It has been pointed out that the recent history of Palestine has seen the complete confounding of those who give to history a purely economic interpretation. It would, I believe, be equally true to say that it will not be saved merely by economic processes, for it is still true that "Man cannot live by bread alone". That is not by any means to say that economics can play no part, or that they will be neglected. The return to the normal must clearly be helped by finding opportunities for the substitution of the ploughshare for the sword and by providing work and means for the attainment of a higher standard of living for those whose lot has been marred by poverty and distress. But the facts remain that insecurity is fatal to industry and that the need for vast sums to be spent upon the protection of life and property must reduce the amount available for other purposes.

A state of irreconciliability upon the basis of things as they are seems to be a common postulate; but irreconciliability upon an amended basis has not yet, so far as I know, been assumed as inevitable even by the most extreme of partisans. They, and others, however, differ widely as regards the form of amendment which might provide a basis for reconciliation. I would urge that in discussion of ways and means and formulae one point should not be overlooked. But for the British people neither party to these disputes would have a chance of gaining even a moiety of what they want. Let me quote the words in which the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations summed up the case last year:-

> "As for the mandatory Power itself, the concern with which it has for nearly twenty years sought to appease the antagonistic feelings prevailing in Palestine must awaken in any man of goodwill a degree of admiration all the higher in that it was exercised in a world in which ruthless violence often stills the voice of humanity. Let the Jews, who all too often, and without justification, show impatience at the delay and hesitation which the mandatory Power has felt compelled to bring to the building-up of their national home, ask themselves whether there is any other nation by which they have been so little persecuted and to which, for generations past, they owe so many benefits. Let the Arabs, whose opposition to what is nevertheless a measure of higher justice which cannot be carried out without a sacrifice from their side can be readily understood, remember the origin of their national emancipation. Without British efforts, certainly, there would have been no Jewish national home; but also there would have been, on the threshold of the twentieth century, no independent Arab States."

To those who are cynical enough to disregard any appeal of gratitude, I would add a reminder that the British Empire is no lifeless creature, dim-eyed and impotent, and that, if it were, the case of Arabs and Jews alike would be unenviable. Let me explain my meaning even more frankly. The British Empire is strong; it can defend itself and those to whom it offers protection; it is not hungry for conquests, nor moved by envy or desire for aggrandisement. All it desires is peace and security, but is it on that account to be flouted? Is its protection to be regarded as valueless? Its own interests coincide with yours, and they may be summed up as the safeguarding of interests which are of vital import to Great Britain, vital also to the safety of the two protagonists living

in this country, and by no means negligible to the greater units of which they form a part. I do not need to speculate upon the results which are foreseeable for either if no strong power unmoved by visions of aggrandisement continued to give them its support. That can be left to the imagination; but I would ask you to ponder what conceivable advantage either stands to gain by the perpetuation of a dangerous tension which carries with it the risk of alienating the sympathy of a people who have given them practical and irrefutable proofs of consistent friendliness, and extending the area of hatred and strife over half the world.

From every quarter I have received messages of goodwill and prayers for success in Palestine. I trust with all my heart they may be fulfilled. It is too early to ask for personal confidence, but I can at least plead that malice and obstinacy be put aside, that some readiness to compromise be substituted, and the good faith of the Government be not called in doubt. Speaking for myself I would say this. The broad lines of policy to be followed will, of course, be those laid down for me from time to time by His Majesty's Government; but in matters arising for decision day by day, I do not think there will be any reluctance to trust the man on the spot. The motives that will actuate me will be simple ones of good faith and honest endeavour to do what is best for all concerned with firmness and impartiality. Nor does impartiality present difficulties to me, for the problem is not one upon which I have preconceived ideas or bias. I approach it with a very genuine diffidence, knowing that it has puzzled many better brains than mine, conscious of its complexity, and realising the magnitude and nobility of the stake. I can only hope that those of you who have the peace and welfare of the Holy Land at heart, and not merely on the lips, will lend me your aid in the carrying out of a great work of appeasement, and I pray that the one God to whom we all look for strength and guidance will bless our endeavours.

No. 7

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

to

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Received 20th April, 1938.)

(No.323)

Jerusalem, 14th April, 1938.

Sir,

In my despatch No. 241 of the 22nd March*, I had the honour to describe events which took place in this country between the 15th February and the 15th March, 1938. This despatch will continue the narrative up to the 7th April.

2. I have reported in statistical form by weekly telegrams the incidents affecting public security during the period at present under review. One of these incidents, of which a brief account is contained in my telegram No. 162 of the 4th April, calls for a fuller report. I refer to the ambushing by an armed Arab gang of a Jewish taxi on the Acre-Safad road in which six Jews - three male and three female - were killed.

On the 4th March as a result of persistent Arab lawlessness and consequent police and military activities in the area lying between Acre and Safad and the northern frontier, the District Commissioner, Galilee

* No. 6

and Acre, in the interests of public security ordered the closing of the Acre-Safad road to Jewish traffic. This order was made generally known to all garages and taxi drivers in the area affected and the proof that it was so known lies in the fact that subsequently to its issue, the District Officer, Safad, received several protests from Jewish car owners in the town objecting to being compelled to use the roundabout and thus more expensive route to Haifa by way of Tiberias and Nazareth. It has not been possible to ascertain with certainty how the driver of the ambushed taxi got on to the Acre-Safad road, but it is probable that he purposely took a side-track in order to evade the police control post at the point where the Acre-Safad road branches eastward from the coast road into Syria.

Shots during the actual attack upon the taxi were heard in a rural police post off the road, but when the police arrived on the scene, the murders of four of the occupants of the vehicle - a father and his son aged twelve and a woman and her elderly mother - had been accomplished, and the driver of the taxi and a young Jewish girl who was sitting beside him had disappeared.

What apparently happened was that the taxi was shot at by the gang, and when it stopped it was surrounded. The driver and the girl jumped out of the car and were seized by the brigands who then proceeded to shoot into the back of the car killing four of the inmates. The remaining four escaped death by hiding in the bottom of the car where they were concealed from view by the bodies of the dead.

When the police arrived, they opened fire on the band which was still in the offing and, it is believed, killed three of them. The bodies, however, were not subsequently found.

The incident naturally provoked great anger and grief among the Jewish community and when, two days later, the dead bodies of the chauffeur and the girl were found near the scene of the outrage and it was learned that the man had been shot and the girl brutally killed by knive wounds, the tension reached dangerous limits which was reflected on the following day in a notice issued by preconcerted arrangement in all the four Hebrew daily papers in Tel Aviv, advising the Jewish population to refrain from visiting Jaffa where the agents of the armed bands were reported to have concentrated with evil intent. The report was untrue but its publication at once produced an atmosphere almost amounting to panic not only in Tel Aviv but also in Jaffa which has hitherto been remarkably quiet; and in order to allay this tension the Press Officer sent at once for the four Jerusalem correspondents of the newspapers concerned and informed them that the action of their editors, far from being helpful, was panic-making and fraught with real danger. He therefore ordered the publication of a strong denial of the report to be included with the maximum prominence in their respective afternoon editions. This action had immediate and salutory effect; but the incident pointedly illustrates the nervous state of the country and the constant danger to be apprehended in sudden demonstrations of mass hysteria.

3. I have reported to you in another communication events in connection with terrorists hiding in the Haram es Sharif and certain developments in Supreme Moslem Council and Awqaf affairs.

4. As you will have observed from my weekly statistical telegrams regarding public security, the state of Palestine remains generally disturbed. Communications have been constantly attacked; the incidents of sniping at Jewish settlements and on police and military patrols and posts have increased; there has also been an increase of armed robbery by Arabs of Arabs; and there has occurred a new form of terrorism in the shape of kidnapping. At the same time, it is noteworthy, that on the whole the main towns - Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, Tel Aviv and Nablus - have been

generally quiet since I last reported to you, and that, save for the incident of the blowing-up of the railway patrol trolley south of Gaza when a British soldier was killed and another wounded (my telegram No.145 of the 28th February), the Southern District has been comparatively free of incident.

In order to secure greater safety for bus traffic on the Jerusalem-Jaffa road, an order has been made and will come into force on the 1st May, that all buses using this route are to be painted uniformly in pale grey. Hitherto the Jewish buses have been pale green and the Arab buses - somewhat surprisingly - red, white and blue. A number of buses have already been so coloured.

5. In the Galilee-Acre and in the Haifa-Samaria district the activities of the gangs persist but with this difference. The constant pressure which is now maintained against them by both the police and the military, has split the brigands into smaller bands whose activities now alternate between sharp sporadic attacks on Government forces and property and on Jewish settlements and acts of violence against Arab villages on which the bands are increasingly relying for food, shelter, ammunition and money.

6. The position of these Arab villagers in general and of their Mukhtars in particular has become difficult and dangerous. Many of them are said to be weary of disturbance and are anxious for a return of settled conditions and desirous to help Government in its endeavour to secure the re-establishment of normal conditions.

At the same time it must not be inferred that, however it may be expressed, the attitude of the Arab population is anything but one of inexorable opposition to 'partition' or further development of the Jewish National Home. To illustrate what may be said to be the general outlook in so-called "good" villages, I cannot do better than include the following extract from the February report of the District Commissioner, Haifa and Samaria.

"The village of Ein Ghazal was visited recently by the Assistant District Commissioner, Haifa District, to award it LP.50 worth of village minor works in accordance with the directions of Sir Arthur Wauchope, as a recognition of its continued good behaviour. The mukhtar, after the disposal of the money had been discussed, asked if he might speak frankly and proceeded with words to this effect:-

> We are, it is true, a law-abiding village because we are made by that way and because we wish to keep on good terms with Government. We think, on the whole, that the activities of the gangs are a mistake and we strongly object to the trouble that their presence inevitably leads to. But if anybody has been telling you that either I or anybody do not sympathize with the gangs, they are lying. We consider that the gangs represent a good cause and that it is Government's policy that is the root of all the trouble in the country".

7. The "deplorable contents" (vide 'Davar' newspaper) of your despatch No. 248 of the 10th March containing the detail of the Immigration Schedule for the six months from the 1st April to the 31st September 1938 were published as an Official Gazette on the 15th March and became at once the object of violent attack in the Hebrew Press. "We are sure that the Yishuv and the whole Zionist movement will regard the new quota as an insult", wrote one editor. "What favourable results can be expected from this additional yielding to the pressure of terrorism? The line of policy is unchanged. The Jews are right in theory, but in practice concessions are made to others at our expense". Another editor argued that once again the Mandatory had tightened the rope round the neck of the Yishuv. "The Government speaks theoretically

of a Jewish state and in the same breath orders the further arbitrary restriction of immigration in complete contradiction to the statements wrung from Mr, Eden at Geneva by the highly critical Permanent Mandates Commission". The argument then proceeded on ironic lines to deny the very possibility of the British Government being influenced by terrorism. Actually "the explanation of all these strange anti-Jewish provisions is to be found in the new Procrustean bed which the Government has constructed for the purpose of accommodating Jewish immigration". All the newspapers indulged in lengthy and bitter criticism of the detail of the Schedule and all were unanimous in asserting their determination to "fight vigorously against the principle of a political maximum which was absolutely contrary to the terms of the Mandate".

8. Of the two daily Arab newspapers, which were then appearing, the 'Falastin' having just emerged from seven days suspension, made no comment. 'Al Difa'a' however, devoted an editorial to the subject. It criticized the re-iteration of the word "partition" as an insult to the Arabs. "We are of opinion that when the Secretary of State drafted his superficial decision, he knew beforehand its probable reactions in the Jewish camp. He consequently had resort to a mass of detail and referred to partition partly as a sop to the Jews and partly to justify his own point of view. The Arabs", continued the Editor, "wish the Secretary of State to realize that they press for the complete stoppage of immigration which alone will facilitate the initiation of an equitable solution of the problem of Palestine".

9. The increase in murderous attacks culminating in the incident on the Acre-Safad road to which I have already referred, urged the Hebrew Press not only to violent protest but also to urgent demands for the arming of Jews in the defence of Jewish lives on the roads. "Government has no right" wrote the 'Davar', the organ of the Federation of Jewish Labour, "to say that they have done their utmost to suppress terrorism, if the Arab gunmen still know that those whom they attack are powerless to return their fire. There are thousands of well-disciplined Jewish youths ready to assist Government in the protection of the roads. Why does Government reject this obvious reinforcement of its own efforts?"

From this pungent statement of the Jewish case, two editors passed to political considerations. "Everybody knows," wrote Haaretz, "that the terrorists have a well organized centre in a neighbouring country. Why does not Government proceed to sever the communications between this hive of banditry and the Palestinian gangs?" The 'Haboker' newspaper which has a vague sympathy with the Revisionist policy, went further. "These outbreaks are not incidental. There is a guiding hand; and there is no doubt that it was these 'good friends' who are organizing the terror in neighbouring countries, who issued the instructions for this general attack on all fronts. But" continued the comment "the capture of Austria and General Franco's victories in Spain are encouraging those who believe in a policy of aggression and in the proneness of the Western powers to capitulate to pressure and threats". The 'Hayarden' newspaper, the organ of the Revisionist party did not let pass an opportunity to attack the Jewish Agency. "So long as the Jewish Workers' Party continues to 'keep order' posing as the leaders of Jewish affairs, so long will this terror persist. Our request is that an armed force should be recruited among the Yishuv to take an active military part against this Arab terrorism. We could change the situation once and for all".

10. Subsequently the 'Palestine Post', which incidentally had recently received two official warnings as a result of the publication of incorrect and dangerous comments and reports both about police and military activities against the terrorists and about the difficulties of the Supreme Moslem Council, published a plainly written editorial in which reference was made personally to Haj Amin al Husseini as the inspiration from his safe lair in the Lebanon of all the woes to which

at present Palestine is heir. "The apparent indifference to his movements shown by the Government of Palestine on the one hand, and by the Administration of Syria and the Lebanon on the other, is disconcerting". The writer admitted, however, that Palestine could only make representations, but "the Syrian and Lebanese Governments can gain nothing from a prolongation of abnormal conditions in Palestine. The toleration of a net-work of intrigue and worse within their own borders is a sorry attitude and will lose for them the goodwill of a people (i.e. the Jews) who are by no means negligible and by no means impotent. It is manifest that Haj Amin has taken and continues to take the fullest advantage of his freedom to foment and foster the unrest in Palestine".

11. In the two previous narrative despatches of this year No. 179 of the 25th February* and No. 241 of the 22nd March /, reference was made to the persistently pernicious tone of the reports of and comments on recent events in this country published in the Syrian and Lebanese press. Despite the efforts of the British Consul General in Beirut and the British Consul in Damascus and the action taken at their instigation by the French High Commissioner, there has been no diminution in this Press campaign of misrepresentation and lies. I have addressed you separately and in greater detail on the subject of the Syrian Press.

During the period under review further orders of exclusion have been made as follows:-

SYRIA

Al Istiqlal al Arabi	another 6 months
Al Insha	6 months
Al Qabas	3 months

LEBANON

Al Dustoor	6 months.

One Egyptian newspaper 'Al Wafd al Masri' has also been excluded on similar grounds for a period of three months; and the circulation in this country of three more Arab propaganda pamphlets has been prohibited by Censor's Order under the Defence Regulations.

12. I am glad to be able to report that the budget of all the municipalities, with the exception of those in the Southern District which are now under urgent consideration, were approved by Government before the end of the financial year on the 31st March.

13. In the second half of March Lord Lloyd accompanied by Colonel Bridges, the secretary of the British Council spent some days in Jerusalem. He made inquiries regarding the development of the Arabic broadcast programmes for the Near and Middle East and discussed the administration of the grant of £1000 which had previously been allocated from the funds of the British Council for the education of British children in Palestine. I am forming a representative Committee under the chairmanship of the Director of Education to supervise the expenditure of this money.

14. On the 5th April Lieutenant General Wavell officially opened the 'Lord Allenby Memorial Garden' in Haifa. This garden which is largely the gift of Lady Downes, Lord Allenby's sister-in-law, who has for some time been resident on Mount Carmel, has been presented to the Municipality; and in inviting General Wavell to declare it open, the Arab Mayor described it as a beautiful memorial to a great man.

I am, &c.,

HAROLD MACMICHAEL,

High Commissioner for Palestine.

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* No. 5 / No. 6

No. 8

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

to

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Received 18th July, 1938.)

(SECRET) Jerusalem. 14th July, 1938.

Sir,

In my despatch No. 323 of the 14th April,* I had the honour to describe events which took place in this country between the 15th March and the 7th April 1938. This despatch will continue the narrative up to the 30th June.

2. I have reported in statistical form by weekly telegrams the incidents affecting public security during the period under review and from them and other communications which I have addressed to you, you will have seen that the state of public security has shown no improvement and that the tension throughout the country has increased. This comment, in so far as the period covered by this despatch is concerned, applies mainly to the two northern districts of Haifa and Samaria and Galilee and Acre.

3. The Jerusalem district has been generally quiet, although on the 24th May, following the murder in broad daylight on the preceding day of a Jewish pedlar in the western outskirts of the city itself, there was a short outbreak of reprisals. Early in the morning, shots were fired into an Arab bus from Ain Karim, killing a Russian nun and wounding another nun and five Arab passengers. About the same time five more Arabs were shot and seriously wounded, one in a Jewish suburb, two in a Jewish main street and two in the vicinity of the chief Jewish hospital in the town. Simultaneously in an Arab quarter of the town a bomb had been thrown among a group of Arab and Jewish labourers, slightly wounding two Arabs and two Jews. This last incident caused a riot and in the stone-throwing which ensued, a Jew was fatally injured. As a result of these incidents curfew was imposed on the municipal area of Jerusalem for two days. On the following morning, the 25th May, in Haifa, one Arab was killed and three were wounded by shooting between 4.50 a.m. and 6.10 a.m.

These two outbreaks, which bore the stamp of a preconceived and organized plan, were generally attributed to Revisionist Jews, a number of whom were arrested and sent to Acre detention camp.

4. The tension which manifested itself, following confirmation by the General Officer Commanding on the 24th June of the death sentence passed by the Haifa Military Court on the Revisionist Jew, Shlomo Ben Yoseph, reached a climax in Jerusalem on the 28th June, the day before the execution took place. The excitement started in the morning when a women's demonstration attempted to make their way to Government House in hired omnibuses. In the afternoon a large mixed crowd of Jews assembled in one of the main streets of the Jewish quarter. When ordered to disperse, they stood their ground and attacked the police with stones, injuring a British inspector and a British constable. The police quickly scattered them and made two arrests. Towards dusk another large Jewish crowd started to demonstrate near a Synagogue in a Jewish quarter, and the police arrested fourteen Jews, twelve men and two women. That night curfew was imposed on the town planning area of the city. It was continued over the night of the 29th.

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* No. 7

5. Throughout the Southern District conditions remained comparatively calm save for a few sporadic cases of sabotage of the railway and telephone wires and of occasional incidents of armed violence. But on the evening of the 23rd June, the day before the confirmation of the death sentence upon the Revisionist Jew, Shlomo Ben Yoseph, and during the two following days there were outbursts of inter-racial fighting on the borders of Jaffa and Tel Aviv, a quarter which gained so much notoriety in the riots of April, 1936. The trouble started at dusk on the 23rd June when shots were fired into an Arab café. This was the prelude to a short but violent street fight in which revolvers, knives and stones were freely used. Early next morning in the same quarter a Jew was stoned to death; a few hours later, also in the same district, a bomb exploded wounding three Arabs; and in the evening, in the southern outskirts of Jaffa, a Jew was shot and seriously wounded. The following day, once more in the same district, two bombs exploded. The first wounded two Jewish women and a Jewish child, and the second wounded seven Arab women, three of them seriously. As the result of the first outbreak on the 23rd June, a twelve hours curfew was imposed over the boundary area between the two towns.

On June 25th, after the confirmation of the sentence of death upon Shlomo Ben Yoseph, there was a Revisionist demonstration in Tel Aviv which the police dispersed. Four Jews were injured.

Four days later, on the 29th June, which was the day of the execution at Acre, a menacing situation developed at dusk in Tel Aviv as a result of two large Revisionist demonstrations in the centre of the town. The demonstrators, in addition to removing the Union Flag from the District Office in Tel Aviv, interspersed their cries against Government and the British in general with shouts of "Down with the Jewish Agency", "Down with Weizmann" and "Down with Shertock". The police dealt promptly with the mobs and dispersed them quickly. Seven of the demonstrators were injured and three were arrested. That night curfew was imposed on Tel Aviv and the boundary area between Tel Aviv and Jaffa.

That more serious trouble did not occur is due in part to the prompt and effective action taken by the local district and police authorities, and in part to the restraining influence of the local leaders of the Histadruth, which comprises a majority of the population in Tel Aviv.

6. You are aware of the great efforts made by all sections of Jewish authority here and abroad to secure a reprieve for Ben Yoseph and I will not dwell on the course of events between the 24th June, when the General Officer Commanding's confirmation of the death sentence was published, and the 29th June when the execution took place. But it may be of interest to make some mention of the local reactions.

Jewish instructed opinion, which may be said to include a large proportion of the Jewish population, never questioned the fairness of the military trial or the inevitability of the sentence. Nor was there any reasoned sympathy with Ben Yoseph as the man who had shot at an Arab 'bus and been found in possession of revolvers and bombs. He had, indeed, disgraced a sacred cause. But whether he was a hothead or a dupe, and whatever his faults, not only did a wave of sympathy surround him, but his end was regarded as a humiliation for Jewry. He was a member of the much-tried Yishuv which, with exemplary patience and restraint, had suffered Arab violence for over two years, and yet he paid the same penalty as the hardened ruffians who for two years had successfully attacked and killed defenceless Jews.

7. The feelings of the Jewish community were thus worked up into something approaching mass hysteria, and even those who most deplored Ben Yoseph's crime on moral and political grounds were moved by the same joint motives to condemn the Government for not reprieving him. None the less I would testify unreservedly to the value of the restraining

influence, exerted in the most difficult circumstances, by the religious heads of the Jewish community and, more notably, by the Vaad Leumi. The latter, as the political opponents of the New Zionist Party, are commonly attacked in Revisionist literature as tools of the Government and as ambitious and unscrupulous time-servers, content to acquiesce in any degradation of Jewish hopes and aims in the hope of personal favours to come. Throughout the period of tension described, their intervention in the cause of clemency was forcible and sustained; and when it failed they threw their full weight both in Jerusalem and in Tel Aviv on the side of law and order and proved once again the discipline which they command among their supporters.

I am enclosing copies of two Revisionist pamphlets which explain the type of propaganda with which the Vaad Leumi had to cope. In the enclosure marked 'B', the mention of 'Mappai' refers to the Palestine Workers Party. That Party is the political organization of the Histadruth (the Federation of Jewish Labour) which at present controls the Jewish Agency.

8. The Jewish Press kept on the whole within the limits of permissible and tolerable comment with the exception of the 'Hatzofe', the organ of the Orthodox Section of the Zionist Organization, which neglecting to observe the warnings which were given by the Press Bureau to all newspapers, stigmatized the Government as murderers and recalled to the minds of its readers the daily thrice-repeated prayer of every Orthodox Jew "Remove from us the yoke of the sinful ruler".

Arab comment was openly cynical. They appreciated and rather enjoyed the British position in face of Jewish outcry and expressed some contempt that the death of a condemned Jew should create so much apparent British pother. After the execution, the Arab Press prudently took the advice of the Press Bureau and refrained from comment.

9. To revert to events in the northern and central districts:- On the 20th May, in order to break up the bands and to restore the authority of Government in the worst areas, an operation was carried out by military and police forces for the occupation of a large number of villages in Galilee and in Samaria. It was accomplished without incident. Since that occupation, steps have been taken to open up the occupied areas by roads constructed with the aid of village labour. The aim of the operation was to restore confidence among the villagers in the areas concerned and to disperse the bands into small units. To a considerable extent it has been successful, but the units are efficiently organized and continue to be active particularly in the foothills north and south of Tulkarm, in the neighbourhood surrounding Nablus, along the Iraq Petroleum Company pipeline between Haifa and Beisan, round Roshpina settlement, where Jewish crops have been burnt, and along the northern frontier.

It is notable that during the last three months the tactical skill of the armed bands has developed. They now operate according to plan and under leaders whose instructions they understand, trust and obey; they have, as is only natural, excellent "intelligence"; and many of their schemes owe such local success as they have achieved to a discipline and a sense of guerilla tactics which are, I am informed, more marked today than they were, for instance, in the concluding stages of the disturbances of 1936.

10. The most notable development of terrorist tactics has been the increase of armed attacks by Arab gangs on Arab villages and the corresponding increase in murder, kidnapping and robbery with violence. In this connection, I regret to have to report that the Mukhtar of Ein Ghazal village in the Haifa sub-district, whose sentiments regarding terrorism I reported in paragraph 6 of my despatch No. 323 of the 14th April,* was murdered by unknown Arabs in May.

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* No. 7

A further terrorist development, the reality of which it is as yet impossible to appreciate and the importance of which I do not wish to exaggerate, is indicated by the dissemination in Arab quarters during the last fortnight of reports that the gang leaders are claiming to have brought into being a form of government of their own. At the moment I will confine myself to reporting that they are administering some rough form of so-called justice of a drumhead variety.

11. Considerable interest has been caused both in Arab and Jewish circles by the erection of the wire-fence along the northern frontier road from Bassa in the west to Lake Huleh in the east.

Arab opinion condemns it as yet another artificial boundary created on imperialistic lines to split the Arab nation and probably regards it also as a measure intended to make Galilee safe for the Jews. Press comment has tended to link the erection of the fence with events in the Sanjak of Alexandretta, which are described and attacked as evidence of the unprincipled machinations of European "power" diplomacy to the detriment of Arab rights and aspirations. In this connection I may add that a movement was started in certain Palestinian Arab towns on the 26th June for a national strike to demonstrate Arab sympathy here with their oppressed brethren in the Sanjak. There was a partial response in Nablus, Jenin and Tiberias, but there was little enthusiasm and things returned to the normal without any perceptible dislocation of trade or life. In Tulkarm, however, the local organizers for some reason ordered a continuation of the strike. As a result a twenty-two hours' curfew was imposed on the town.

12. The Jewish Press received the news of the decision to build the frontier fence with half-hearted approval. It was better than nothing as the Government's endeavours up to date to save the country from the depredations of Syrian gangsters had been completely ineffective. But though the fence might impede the entry of foreign bandits, the Government once again, were having recourse to half measures. "Build the fence", they say, "by all means, but it will not solve the problem of the victimized Jews in Palestine. The only solution of that problem lies in destroying the nests of Arab intrigue and treason which the French continue to tolerate in Beirut and Damascus".

It was, of course, a source of satisfaction to Jewry that the contract for the erection of the fence was given to a Jewish firm. But to this expression of satisfaction was added the comment that Government could hardly have done otherwise, seeing that the enormous cost of the fence was to be met from the dwindling surplus funds which, as every one knew, had been built up from money given to the Government by the Jewish taxpayer.

13. The chief preoccupation of the Jewish Press and those responsible for Jewish propaganda has been to make all possible capital for political purposes out of the present state of insecurity. They demand with increasing insistence a more general arming of Jews in self defence, stating that the Government have no plan for tackling the problem of terrorism, that their forces remain on the defensive when they should advance to the attack, and that it is utter futility for the Government, with its apparently inadequate strength, to refuse to accept the obvious reinforcements which the presence in Palestine of tens of thousands of young, strong and well-disciplined Jews offers to them in their present embarrassments. The recruitment of Jewish regiments, declare the Hebrew newspapers, would settle Arab terrorism in a month.

14. During the period under review, three Arab newspapers were suspended as follows:-

(1) Karmel al Gedid, a Haifa weekly with a moderate circulation in the northern districts. The cause of suspension was the publication of an inciting article describing the alleged state of the detention camp at Acre.

(2) Al Lahab, a Jerusalem weekly which was launched early this year and which is staffed mainly by unemployed officials of Haj Amin's defunct daily newspaper, Al Liwa. Its offence was the publication at the time of the Nebi Musa festival, of a form of greeting to Haj Amin and his confederates in exile - to be signed by readers of the paper and cut out and sent to the Editor, presumably for transmission to the Lebanon.

(3) Al Jami'a al Islamiya, a daily newspaper which had only just emerged from bankruptcy. It had published an article in praise of two armed bandits who had been shot dead when attempting to damage the frontier fence.

The remainder of the Arab Press has written with more circumspection and has succeeded in avoiding trouble under the Press Ordinance.

The Jewish press has been fairly careful although it has permitted itself a slightly more argumentative expression. It is noteworthy that during the past three months the friction among Zionist supporters, which was previously expressed more or less politely, has betrayed itself on more vehement lines in the Zionist newspapers, and today there is a highly articulate Zionist opposition Press to the Jewish Agency. This opposition is headed by the well written 'Haboker', the circulation of which is steadily increasing. 'Davar', which still has by far the largest circulation in Palestine, continues to support the Agency with spirit and at great length. There is also support for Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Shertok in the 'Haaretz', albeit of a more critical and less full-blooded nature.

15. Since April there has been no indication of any improvement either in the tone or the accuracy of the Syrian and Lebanese Press. The majority of the Damascus newspapers were already by April excluded from Palestine and during the period under review exclusion orders have been made against two more Syrian news sheets. During the same period six more Lebanese newspapers and one weekly journal published in Cairo were excluded.

These exclusion orders have done something to prevent the open circulation of inciting news in Palestine, but there is little doubt that much privately printed and secretly disseminated literature of a seditious and subversive nature is being smuggled into the country, particularly from Egypt and the Lebanon, and that it comes by under ground channels into the hands of many Palestinians, despite the vigilance of the police.

16. The Partition Commission arrived in the country on the 27th April. For the first three weeks they toured all quarters of Palestine and Trans-Jordan, after which they took the views of Government officials, the Jewish Agency, the Agudath Israel (the Party of Orthodox Judaism), and certain private persons. They also received in public sessions the spokesman of the Revisionist Party and an English crank who represented an organization styled "The World State Volunteers", and having as its object the solution of the troubles of the world.

17. The Amir Abdulla's proposals for a settlement, the details of which have been communicated to you, were received in Palestine with what almost amounted to weariness. For a short time, they were discussed with a somewhat artificial show of acrimony in the two presses, but they never attracted the interest of the public to whom they appeared to be almost ridiculously unrealistic when viewed against the background of the present chaotic state of affairs.

18. The celebration of Christian Easter in Jerusalem was naturally marred by the decision of Government to close the Holy Sepulchre to the public on account of the dangerous condition of the structure. However, all the traditional ceremonies under the Status Quo were carried through by the respective sects although without the assistance of the public.

The main celebration - the distribution of the Holy Fire on Easter Eve - passed off quietly, and the congregations met the situation adequately. When the Fire appeared, bunches of candles were hoisted through the windows of the Rotunda above the Tomb and passed to Orthodox worshippers on the roof of the adjacent Greek Convent where they had assembled. Simultaneously a Coptic priest bore more flaming bundles to the Deir es Sultan where his flock, a large number of whom had come from Egypt, were anxiously waiting. The Armenians arranged a runner service from the Muristan to the Armenian Quarter where the Armenian congregation were gathered in the Cathedral Church of St. James; and a similar system of runners brought the Syrian Fire to their Convent of St. Mark. It is a matter of some satisfaction that despite the disappointment caused by closing the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, all the sects accepted the situation philosophically and, though there was a period of tension lest at the last minute the "Fire would not come", all the pilgrims appeared to be satisfied when it did appear.

19. The Moslem festival of Nebi Musa in April passed without incident but was very poorly attended as the contingents from outside Jerusalem either failed to come or came in such small parties that pilgrims and spectators alike were a mere handful compared with previous years. The same fate attended the less well-known but equally revered Moslem Festival of Nebi Saleh at Ramle. This year the Jaffa contingent with its banners failed to attend and the ceremony passed almost unnoticed. So also the celebration of the Moulad al Nebi - the Prophet's Birthday - which last year had been invested with almost national importance so as to compete with the Coronation celebrations of the British and Jewish communities which the Arabs had elected to boycott in protest against the immediately preceding issue of a labour schedule for Jewish immigration.

20. On the 20th May the Supreme Moslem Council announced that the Aqsa Mosque in the Haram es Sherif, would be temporarily closed for repairs. The fabric of the building had been reported to be in a dangerous condition and, after consulting British and Egyptian technical opinion, it was decided that urgent repairs were imperative. The decision created no comment and the usual religious ceremonies have been transferred from El Aqsa to the Women's Mosque until further notice.

During the period under review the two vacancies in the membership of the Supreme Moslem Council, caused by the dismissal of Amin el Tamimi and the resignation of Abdul Rahman bey el Taji, have been filled. The two new members are Sheikh Yusuf Sidki Tahboub, a retired Qadi of Hebron, and Sheikh Kemal Ismail, a magistrate at Tulkarm.

21. On the 12th May, the German liner "Milwaukee" arrived at Haifa in connection with the German - Austrian referendum regarding the Anschluss. All Germans and Austrians in Palestine had been mustered by the German consular authorities and in due course the ship put out three miles to sea. According to the subsequent official reports, there was complete unanimity of voting.

22. Since I addressed your predecessor, in my despatch No. 323 of the 14th April,* the commands of both the Military and the Air Forces in this country have changed. In May Lieutenant-General R. H. Haining, C.B., D.S.O., succeeded Lieutenant-General A. P. Wavell, C.B., C.M.G., M.C., and early in June Air Commodore R. H. Hill A.F.C., M.C., left Palestine to take up a new post at the Air Ministry. His successor Air Commodore A. T. Harries A.F.C., O.B.E., is shortly expected in Jerusalem.

23. In accordance with the instructions contained in Lord Harlech's despatch No.447 of the 12th May, copies of this despatch are being sent to His Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Baghdad and Jedda, His Majesty's Consul-General at Beirut, His Majesty's Consul at Damascus and the British Resident, Amman, for their information.

I have, &c.,

HAROLD MACMICHAEL

High Commissioner for Palestine

* No. 7

Enclosure A in No. 8

For the first time in Jewish history in Palestine a young Jew is about to be hanged. A young chap who could not control his feelings against the insult we receive day by day here in this country of our last hope, and against being the prey of the wild beasts of the desert.

Please know and understand that this indictment is a disgrace to you and to every Jew in the world.

This sentence reduces us to a class of the lowest standard who are refused to express their feelings and defend their honour.

Another victim at the hands of the British murderers will be added to the numerous victims who fell at the hands of the Arab murderers.

Another two parents will be added to the numerous afflicted parents, to mourn the unjust death of a young man who refused to control his feelings.

Parents : Remember that your sons and daughters from now onward will be unprotected and at the mercy of the British hangman.

Young men ! Remember that this young man came to Palestine to build and now he is to be hanged.

This young blood about to be spilled will bring the curse of the world upon you and shall take its revenge. At the eleventh hour, in the name of this young man, we request you to submit your protest against this cruel British sentence.

Jerusalem Jews, remember that the eyes of all the Jews of the world are looking upon you.

Defend the honour of the Nation. Declare Strike, Close your shops. Demonstrate in the streets and save the life of this young Jew.

You are held responsible for the blood of this young victim.

Shame to the Government !

Shame to partnership of Britain and dirty Arabs !

Long live the Jewish Legion.

Long live the Jewish Kingdom on both sides of the Jordan !

"DEFENDERS OF THE NATION'S HONOUR".

Enclosure B in No.8

JEWS, JEWISH YESHUV IN PALESTINE

Notwithstanding the indignation and protests created by the World Jewry, and in spite of the demands of the Jewish masses, leaders and Rabbis, the Government that has drowned us and our homeland with blood for about two years, was not alarmed to commit the evil suggestion.

Why was the death sentence passed on Ben Yosef confirmed by the Officer Commanding and further, there is nothing to prevent Government from executing Ben Yosef.

Hundreds of Arabs, murderers of Jews, go about free at day time in the country and Government does not apprehend them, while two Jews, who are not terrorists, but were jealous for the defiled honour of Israel, so they have protested. They were sentenced to death and Ben Yosef, who was not found in possession of arms, is waiting to be hanged. This is the first execution of a Jew in Palestine since the days of the cruel Titus.

The afflicting Government that arranges national funeral processions for Arab terrorists who fight against her, prepared the gallows for Jewish youngsters, who did not fight against her at all, but wanted to fight against the Arab terror. A bloody charge is attached to the Mappait Agency whose systematic reports against the National Yeshuv to Government orally and in writing, for years it was able to clasp the rope on the neck of Jewish youngsters.

If, God forbid, the death sentence is executed, then that innocent blood shall be on the head of the treacherous Agency and on the head of the afflicting authorities.

Jews, do not give way that your blood may become licentious to the Arab murderers and in the Italian-British hands.

Demonstrate publicly against the cruel sentence, close the shops and cinemas.

Ask for the complete and permanent release of the two youngsters who are faithful to the nation. By your terrible indignation and the embitterness of a large honourable mass, you can yet break that criminal sentence to save your brethren from hanging.

Booz (mockery) to traitors the Mappais agents of the authorities.

Freedom to the faithful youngsters of the nation.

Long live the kingdom of Israel on both sides of the Jordan.

No. 9

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

to

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Received 19th September, 1938.)

(SECRET)

Jerusalem, 13th September, 1938.

Sir,

In my secret despatch of the 14th July* I had the honour to describe events which took place in this country between the 7th April and the 30th June, 1938, and this despatch will continue the narrative up to and including the 31st August, 1938.

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* No. 8

2. In my despatch of the 14th July * I omitted to include reference to an incident which took place near Hedera during the afternoon of the 23rd June when three Jewish youths, who were loading a cart near the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association settlement of Givat Ada in the Haifa sub-district, were kidnapped, with their two horses, by an armed band. Early next morning police dogs were set on the trail of the band, but the scent had been spoilt by the passage of cattle and was lost before definite progress could be made.

The disappearance of these youths created tense excitement and resentment among all sections of the Jewish community, and there was much conjecture, during the period which elapsed between the date of the confirmation of the death sentence of Shlomo Ben Yusef and that of his execution at Acre on the 29th June, to the effect that the three kidnapped Jews were being held as hostages by the gangsters in the hills, and that they would be released if Ben Yusef were hanged, or murdered if he were reprieved. In fact, however, their fate has not been ascertained, and it can only be assumed that they have been killed.

3. During the two months of July and August the interest of the whole country was concentrated on the alarming growth of lawlessness and violence the details of which I have already reported to you by telegram and otherwise.

4. The month of June had been marked by an increase in acts of violence and by the steady growth of tension between Arab and Jew culminating in the scenes attending the execution of Yusef Ben Shlomo. This state of affairs persisted into July, and on the 4th of the month occurred the first of a series of deadly outrages which were undoubtedly the expression of this tension.

5. Early on the morning of the 4th July, a bomb was thrown into an Arab bus at the western entrance to Jerusalem, killing four of its passengers and wounding six others - all of them Arabs. Simultaneously in various Jewish quarters of the town four more Arabs were shot and wounded and shortly afterwards, on the Jaffa-Tel Aviv boundary, three Arabs were attacked, presumably by Jews, one of them being shot dead and the other two seriously wounded.

On the same night four Jewish settlers were shot and killed in Ein Vered Settlement in the Tulkarm sub-district, and during the morning of the 5th a Jewish merchant and his son were shot dead in their shop in David Street in the Old City of Jerusalem. Although the street was crowded at the time, no evidence was forthcoming to identify the criminals, and accordingly a collective fine was imposed on the owners of all premises adjacent to the scene of the crime.

6. On the following afternoon - the 6th July - a bomb was thrown either at or from a train which was proceeding to Jaffa as it was passing a level crossing in the centre of Tel Aviv town. A Jewess was killed and four Jews were seriously wounded.

An hour and a half later in Haifa a powerful bomb exploded in the Arab melon market which is situated just off the Kingsway in the immediate vicinity of the Police Headquarters of the town. A panic at once ensued with indiscriminate shooting in every direction, and it was half an hour before order was restored by the police. The total casualties amounted to twenty one Arabs and six Jews killed and one hundred and six Arabs and fourteen Jews wounded.

7. For the four days following the bomb outrage, Arab - Jewish tension in Haifa found its expression in isolated attacks by stoning, stabbing, bomb-throwing and arson, as a result of which three Arabs were wounded and three Jews killed and forty nine wounded.

8. Immediately after the bomb outrage on the 6th, curfew was imposed on the mixed quarters of the town and the following day H.M.S. "Emerald" arrived in the harbour and, with her personnel, rendered valuable

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* No. 8

assistance ashore by the supply of patrols for security purposes. She was later relieved by the battle-cruiser, H.M.S. 'Malaya' which is still in Haifa.

9. On the 7th July, the scene of major incidents shifted from Haifa to Jerusalem, where in the morning a bomb was thrown and exploded in David Street in the Old City near the shop where the two Jews had been shot dead two days previously (see paragraph 5 above). Six Arabs, including two women and one child, were seriously wounded.

10. That afternoon on the Tel Aviv-Haifa road there was a fatal shooting incident when an Arab taxi carrying three Indian Moslem visitors to Palestine was fired upon while passing a Jewish settlement. The three passengers and the driver were all wounded, one of the passengers fatally.

11. The next morning - the 8th July - there was another and more serious bomb outrage in Jerusalem when a bomb was thrown into a crowded bus in the car park below the Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem. Five Arabs were killed and twenty four others wounded; on the 10th a bomb was thrown at an Arab bus in a Jewish quarter, wounding one Arab and one Jew; and on the 12th a bomb, thrown into a Jewish shop near the Post Office, wounded two Jewish employees seriously. Curfew, which had been imposed on Jerusalem on the 4th July, was maintained for a further ten days.

12. On the 10th there was a determined attack in the Haifa sub-district by a large Arab gang on Givat Ada settlement. Extensive damage was done to settlers' property; two supernumeraries were killed, and one wounded, and a Jewish woman settler was killed.

13. On the 15th a bomb - probably planted - exploded in David Street in the Old City of Jerusalem killing ten Arabs, including five women, and wounding thirty other Arabs.

14. The next outrage of major importance occurred in Tel Aviv, where early in the evening of the 23rd a bomb exploded in a motor car which had been left unattended in a crowded street on the sea front. Twenty three Jews were wounded, seven of them seriously.

15. Two days later, that is, early in the morning of the 25th, there was a second bomb outrage in Haifa with results even more deadly than those occasioned by the previous outrage on the 6th. (See paragraph 6). The bomb, which was a time fuse landmine, had been buried in the same melon market where the first bomb had exploded. It burst at 6 a.m. when the market was crowded, and forty six Arabs were killed and forty four wounded, of whom seven subsequently died of their injuries.

16. The following day in Jerusalem a further outrage was averted by the timely discovery of an elaborate time bomb hidden in a vegetable basket in a crowded street in the Old City. A Jew who, it was alleged by Arabs, had been seen to place it where it was found, was pursued and caught by some Arabs near the Damascus Gate. He was severely wounded and died some days later in hospital. He was identified as a member of the Revisionist party.

17. Three days later, on the 29th, a Jew was shot dead in Jaffa and on the 31st, a bomb thrown into a Jewish bus near Haifa, killed a Jew and a Jewess and wounded nine other passengers, three of them seriously.

18. Apart from these incidents in the towns the month of July witnessed a correspondingly serious deterioration of public security throughout the country generally. It became evident from the increase in the number and size of the armed gangs that they were enjoying an increasingly greater support from the villages of the Palestine districts, and that, although the general lines of their policy were directed and to some extent financed from sources outside Palestine, the leadership in the field was in the hands of local men who knew the country well and who were competent to profit from an 'intelligence' service which was becoming more and more efficient.

19. The activities on which these 'leaders' concentrated may be conveniently divided into three categories.

20. The first may be described as a determination to dislocate and, if possible, paralyse Government communications and administrative activities, and took the form of the nightly sabotage of telephone and telegraph wires, of attempts to interfere with railway and road traffic by sniping, and of the increasingly frequent use of landmines to damage both railway tracks and the main and country roads, as well as of attacks on Government property and institutions such as the experimental farms at Tulkarm, Acre and Faradiyah and several survey camps throughout the country.

Particulars of these activities have already been furnished to you in my weekly telegrams, and I accordingly confine myself in this despatch to reporting certain specific cases which illustrate both the extent and the efficiency of the Arab sabotage.

On the 16th July seventeen kilometres of telephone lines and one hundred and fifty five telephone poles were destroyed causing damage valued at LP.3,387, while during the month, apart from several incidents of minor tampering with the railway line, two goods trains were derailed, and on the 28th the explosion of a landmine under the Haifa-Kantara mail train near Ras el Ain wrecked the engine and two coaches and fatally injured the assistant engine-driver.

As a result of preventive military and police action in the Plain of Esdraelon, the oil pipeline escaped damage, but the saboteurs succeeded on three occasions in destroying considerable lengths of the new Frontier Fence.

21. The second category of bandit activities was directed against Jewish settlements and Jewish life and property in the settlements and elsewhere. The figures speak for themselves. Jewish settlements were subjected to sniping attacks on more than sixty occasions; Jewish crops and trees were set on fire or wilfully damaged about twenty times; and at least forty reports were received of shooting at Jewish transport. In addition, as I have already informed you in my weekly reports, the number of Jews killed and wounded in isolated attacks increased.

22. The third and perhaps the most important feature of the bandits' policy was the endeavour to sap the morale of Arabs in Government service and to demoralize Arab life in the country generally by threats and terrorist acts of violence.

The offensive against Arab officers in the Government took the form of the assassination of Arab officials, including two village mukhtars, a Police Inspector in Tulkarm and a number of constables and super-numeraries; of kidnappings from villages and lonely posts mainly of Arab Police and village officials, and in attacks on railway and post-office officials either while they were guarding Government property or repairing damage caused by sabotage.

The bandits' efforts to demoralize the Arab population generally concentrated on day and night visits to Arab villages, where after demanding (and usually obtaining) at the point of the rifle food, money, lodging and, on occasion, recruits. They represented to the villagers that they were developing into an effective and independent administration of the country and that the days of the Mandatory were numbered. They cited the creation of their courts which on the one hand passed summary sentences on Arab traitors and on the other would mete out good Arab justice, as between Arab and Arab, in land, domestic and other disputes; and they were at pains in general to attempt to create the impression that they were serious apostles of an Arab renaissance and not mere bandits as the Jews represented them to be.

An interesting demonstration of the 'leaders' determination to emphasize the Arab aspect of their policy, was the publication during August of an 'order' prohibiting to all Arab males the wearing of the 'tarbush' as a head-dress and prescribing its replacement by the "agal". This 'order' has been obeyed with surprising docility and it is not an exaggeration to say that in a month eight out of every ten tarbushes in the country had been replaced by the "agal".

Incidentally, several cases have also occurred in which non-Moslem Arab women have been stopped in the street and intimidated for wearing "European" hats, and have been ordered to wear the black veil of the Moslem women, and long dresses.

It has further become increasingly evident that although the appeal of the 'leaders' was directed to foster Palestinian Arab patriotism and the achievement of Arab political independence in this country, they are more and more stressing the religious aspect of their struggle on the ground that the real problem facing Islam is the question whether the Arabs shall fall under Jewish imperialist domination. Among the village population Moslem religious sentiment is a stronger, more unifying and more universal feeling than Arab nationalism, which, in fact, tends to separatism in each of the Arab countries and in Palestine is but vaguely understood. On the other hand the protagonists of Islam have to remember that a number of their fellow 'nationalists' are Christian Arabs.

23. During the month military reinforcements which arrived from Egypt were stationed in Samaria and Galilee where conditions of security subsequently improved, but as a result of intensified pressure by Government in the north which the presence of the fresh troops rendered possible, the scene of activity of the gangs shifted towards the south, and in the last ten days of the month a number of small armed gangs were reported in the neighbourhood of Ramallah and Jerusalem, where they visited and robbed a number of Arab villages and made a few sporadic attacks on transport on the Nablus - Jericho and Hebron roads.

24. During the month there were no major encounters between the troops and the gangs, but in a series of minor incidents it is known that seventeen bandits were killed by the military and the police, and it is believed that altogether the gangs suffered at least fifty casualties.

25. The major events of the month in Haifa, Jaffa and Jerusalem practically monopolised the comment of both the Arab and the Hebrew Press.

Arab newspapers naturally dwelt on the 'hidden Jewish hand'. "Even simple observers", wrote 'Al Difa'a', "can see that the organization responsible for these crimes has branches in more than one town or settlement... We demand the dissolution of Jewish associations, including that association in Jerusalem which was described in the Report of the Royal Commission as 'a Government within a Government'. We insist on the calling in of Jewish licensed firearms.... Has not the time come to adopt the same severe measures as are taken against Arab villagers, against the Jewish settlements and quarters and towns where these crimes are conceived".

In fact, the Arab press voiced an Arab opinion which was unanimous in believing that all these outrages were perpetrated by Jews, and that the British authorities had one law for Jewish law-breakers and another for the Arabs.

This sentiment was reinforced by a question asked in the House of Commons suggesting a widespread search for arms in Arab houses and the supply of more arms to the Jews for self-defence. "Ten Arabs are dead, men, women and children, and thirty are wounded", wrote 'Al Difa'a' after the bombing of the Arab bus outside the Jaffa Gate on the 8th July, (see paragraph 11) "and nobody tries to explain anything. Not even one member of Parliament asks a single question.... The support given by Members of

the British Parliament to certain causes is dictated by their own interests and not by the righteousness of the causes themselves. It is a pity that these "courageous" members of Parliament concentrate on their own interests only." Two days later 'Falastin' wrote "What is even more serious is that the 'knights' of Parliament are instigating the Jews against the Arabs and encouraging them to believe that Government cannot protect them and that they should avenge themselves on the Arabs. These 'knights' are the supreme authority controlling Government not only in London but in Jerusalem, and Mr. Wedgwood who is one of them, has launched a letter to the Jews in most inciting terms.... These 'knights' definitely share the responsibility for the crimes committed by the Jews against the Arabs during the past two weeks".

26. The Hebrew Press was much perturbed by the succession of outrages and the implication that they were the handiwork of Jews.

"Only a short time ago", wrote 'Davar' "we could say with a clear conscience that Jews had nothing to do with such crimes. Can we say so today?" "If those who committed the outrages," commented 'Ha'aretz', "are among the Yishuv with whose fate they are thus playing a dangerous game, it must be clear that the entire Jewish public repudiates them and their acts..... They are our enemies". The 'Haboker' which has vague Revisionist leanings and constitutes the local Jewish opposition to the Jewish Agency, expressed its feelings as follows:- "The tragic aspect of these developments is that the decision to preserve self-restraint has become weaker..... We assume that Government is coming to the conclusion that stronger measures are necessary against Arab terrorism; but things have now assumed such proportions that the Haifa Police has seen fit to shoot into the crowds".

27. The Evian Conference naturally engaged the comment of Arab and Jewish newspapers alike. The Arabs claimed it as a victory for their point of view and the Jews attacked it as yet another betrayal by the British. The choice of Lord Winterton as the leader of the British delegation was peculiarly obnoxious to Jewish opinion. He was described as "more Arab than Lawrence", to which the comment was added that "this is the man whom the Mandatory has sent to Evian to see that the gates of Palestine remain closed to Jewish immigration and to arrange for a second Uganda".

28. During August, although there was only one major outrage comparable to those which had occurred in Jerusalem and Haifa during July, the general state of public security throughout the country continued to deteriorate and the tension between the two communities increased.

29. The major outrage occurred in Jaffa on the 25th August, when early in the morning a landmine exploded in the vegetable market killing 24 Arabs and wounding 35. The immediate result was the collection of hostile and highly excited Arab crowds which, after making unsuccessful attacks on Barclays and the Anglo-Palestine Bank, succeeded in doing considerable damage to a British grocery store before they were finally dispersed by the police, who were forced to open fire. One Arab was killed and three were wounded and an Arab police constable was severely injured and his rifle taken by a wandering mob which attacked him on his post. As a result of this rioting a daylight curfew was imposed shortly before noon and the town was heavily picketted by Military and Police.

The following morning there was a recrudescence of trouble. Several attempts were made to set on fire Jewish property on the Jaffa-Tel Aviv boundary and in the centre of the town the police were compelled to fire on a mob which refused to disperse, and killed one Arab and wounded six others.

30. The bomb outrage on the 25th gave rise to an extraordinary rumour to the effect that it had been perpetrated by the police. The story was that on the night preceding the explosion, members of the police had warned a coffee-shop keeper and several other Arab inhabitants near the vegetable market to quit their houses the following morning and to leave their windows open. The story was, of course, the merest invention, but immediately after the explosion took place the rumour spread rapidly among the crowds who shouted "The English did it" as they advanced to attack the two Banks. Later the case of the landmine was brought and exposed in the mosque as a proof of British tyranny and Arab martyrdom. The story was officially denied in a broadcast from the Palestine Broadcasting Station but in this case it is interesting and eloquent that the suggestion should have been that the British and not the Jews had been the authors of the tragedy.

31. During the month there were three murders of British subjects serving the Crown. On the 6th, Corporal Willis of the Police was shot dead in an Arab bus on his way from Nablus to Jenin; on the 13th Captain Howe of the Royal Engineers was shot and killed by bandits in a traffic hold-up on the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem; and on the 24th Mr. Moffatt the Acting Assistant District Commissioner in Jenin was fatally wounded by an Arab assassin who rushed into his office and shot him at his desk. These three murders created a profound impression throughout the country, especially that of Mr. Moffatt which testified on the one hand to the good organization on the part of those responsible for it, and on the other to the unreliability of the Arab personnel on the spot - both civilian and police - who (whether from fright or some other reason) made no attempt to assist Mr. Moffat or to hinder the murderer, and subsequently showed themselves unable or unwilling to supply any information which might have led to the detection of the murderer.

32. The increased daring of the bandits is illustrated by the success of three well-organized and executed bank robberies which they accomplished during the month in Nablus town. About midday on the 10th an armed party held up the Arab staff of the Nablus branch of Barclays Bank just as it was preparing to close for luncheon. They forced the manager at the point of the revolver to open the safe and decamped with L.P. 5,200. Simultaneously another party had invaded the telephone exchange where they terrified the operators into inaction until the robbery had been safely accomplished.

Six days later another armed party held up a post office employee who was taking a mail-bag to a post office van for transport to Jerusalem. They seized and escaped with the bag which contained L.P. 2,000 consigned by the Nablus branch of Barclays Bank to its headquarters in Jerusalem.

On the 30th a messenger of the Arab Bank in Nablus was held up and robbed of a package containing L.P. 200 of the Bank's money.

33. An equally well-organized operation was executed at Hebron early in the evening of the 19th when an armed gang entered the town and after forcing an entrance into the urban police station, where they stole two rifles and shot dead the Arab chauffeur of a police tender which they subsequently burned, broke into Barclays Bank and the Post Office, where they did extensive damage by arson and looting. Fortunately the management of the bank had already removed all cash, securities and books to Jerusalem.

34. There were two further hold-ups, one on the 21st at Qalqiliya where the Post Office was robbed of about L.P. 36; the other on the 31st, when the Arab bus conveying the mail from Tiberias to Jerusalem was held up north of Nablus and four bags - of which one was subsequently recovered in a partially burned condition - were stolen by an armed band.

35. Sabotage has also increased in effectiveness and in volume. During the month damage estimated at over L.P. 6,000 was done to telephone and telegraph lines throughout the country, and on the night of the 17th, Jerusalem was temporarily cut off as a result of a concentrated effort by the saboteurs on all the main lines of communication.

During the month the railways also suffered heavily. Three goods trains and three passenger trains were derailed; and a fourth goods train was held up on the Jerusalem - Lydda line in the hills south of Jerusalem. After its personnel had been removed and one of the Arab police escort had been shot dead, the gangsters released the train down-hill in reverse and a serious accident was only averted by the presence of mind of an Arab plate-layer, who jumped on the empty train as it passed him and succeeded in applying the brakes and bringing it safely to a standstill.

There were also two cases of sabotage to the pipeline in the plain of Esdraelon and two cases of slight damage to the northern Frontier Fence.

36. Road transport has also been the object of constant sporadic sniping by gangs and following the bomb outrage in Jaffa on the 24th, there was for two days an outbreak of shooting, stone-throwing and hooliganism in Ramle, which interrupted Jewish through traffic on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road to an extent which necessitated the imposing of a twenty two hour curfew for a week for fifty metres on either side of the main road through the town. In the course of these disturbances two Jews were fatally wounded and five others, including a woman, were injured.

37. Attacks on Jewish life and property have likewise shown no abatement. On two occasions the explosion of well-laid landmines in the sandy tracks in the Plain of Sharon succeeded in destroying Jewish workers' lorries proceeding to their duties, and resulted in seventeen casualties of which four were fatal.

The bandits' activities against Jewish settlements followed the practised lines of sniping and the indiscriminate destruction of property. The worst incident occurred on the 28th when armed men penetrated a Jewish settlement near Haifa and shot into a house where Jews were listening to the Hebrew programme from the Palestine Broadcasting Station. Two settlers were killed and one seriously wounded.

On the afternoon of the 16th, a Jewish lorry conveying Jewish supernumararies and watchmen and two Jewish women was heavily ambushed on the western slopes of Mount Carmel. Eight men were killed and both of the women wounded - one of them fatally. Troops in the neighbourhood were quickly on the scene and attacked the ambushers, killing seven of them and wounding many more.

During August there were two more incidents of the kidnapping of Jews which attracted as much comment as had that of the three Jewish youths from Givat Ada settlement in June (see paragraph 2). On the 11th, the Jewish foreman of a mixed roadmaking gang on the Haifa-Tel Aviv road was attacked and captured by armed Arabs. He disappeared for nine days at the end of which, dressed in Arab clothes, he was returned by his captors unharmed. It is remarkable that the Jewish press was exceptionally silent regarding the incident and it is generally believed that this release was the result of Jewish-Arab negotiations and the payment of a ransom.

On the 16th, the Jail Labour Camp near Athlit was rushed by a bandit gang and when order had been restored, it was discovered that the raiders had abducted a Jewish prison inspector, together with his wife and brother-in-law and three young children. Four days later, the three children, wearing Arab clothes, were returned unostentatiously to a

Jewish settlement. The circumstances of their return merit description. They bore with them a letter signed by the eldest of them - a girl - to the effect that while they had been prisoners they had not seen their parents but had been well-treated. This letter was addressed to the Jewish Press and the girl had been given L.P.1 with instructions that she was to pay it to the newspapers concerned to secure publication of the letter. She was also warned that if she did not do what she was told, Arab retribution would quickly overtake her. The fate of the parents is still unknown, but a persistent rumour has been current that the band concerned in the capture has published a communiqué to the effect that the mother succumbed to wounds which she had received, and that the father and his brother-in-law had been executed.

38. The policy of kidnapping and in many cases of subsequent execution after sentence by the 'courts', has been intensively pursued by the bands against individual Arabs both in Government service and in civil life. During the month at least fifty such abductions occurred and some fifteen of the Arabs so abducted, including some supernumeraries, were subsequently found dead with notes pinned to their bodies stating that they had been tried and shot as traitors.

39. These incidents were given much publicity and were the topic of tense and preoccupied comment in all grades of Palestinian Arab society.

40. Among the cases of abduction were several of Arab doctors of whose services the bandits had need on account of illness or wounds among their members.

The following is an account of the experiences of a well-known Jerusalem practitioner whose services were commandeered by the bandits. Early in the morning a man wearing European clothes and the Arab head-dress of a kufia and agal called at his private house in a car and invited his attendance on an urgent case. There was nothing abnormal in the request which was not accompanied by any suggestion of a threat, and the doctor, taking his bag, got out his car and on the instructions of his client, followed the other car beyond Bethlehem. There both cars stopped and the doctor was told that the rest of his way would be on foot. He could not elicit any further particulars from his guides who refused to converse with him on any topic, and merely told him that the distance to be walked was short. This was not true; and after tramping some three miles up and down stony hills in increasingly empty country, he became so exhausted that his silent escort commandeered a mule for him from an old woman, who volunteered the statement that he was to attend to a very important person and that he had still many miles to go. After another hour or so, he was met, by an obviously pre-arranged plan, by a severely taciturn Arab of apparent standing who addressed him by name and told him that his journey was almost over. A mile or so further on, he descended into a steep-sided and completely empty wadi, but when he had reached the bottom, one of the escort fired a rifle and a whistle was blown, whereupon a mass of men - some of them in uniform - emerged from behind stones and rocks up the sides of the Wadi and formed up round him. He was then brought into a cave where he found an elderly Arab, who was addressed as "Commandant", who was suffering from a severe attack of malaria. The doctor gave him an injection and the man asked him if he wished to eat and offered him a professional fee. The doctor refused both food and fee; his mule was straightway produced and he started on his way back to Jerusalem by a different route - still with his escort who were as silent as before. He eventually reached a village track some distance from where he had left his car. There the car facing in the right direction was waiting for him, and with a minimum of talk he was told to be off and to forget all about his experiences of the morning.

On the same afternoon in Ramallah, which is at least twenty five miles from the place where he had attended his patient in the morning,

he was asked by an Arab friend when it was that he had returned from the job that had been thrust on him in the cause of the country.

41. As a result of the growing insecurity of night traffic on the roads a curfew order was issued on the 20th prohibiting all traffic on all roads and tracks throughout Palestine outside municipal areas and built-up areas of villages and settlements. Stringent curfews were also imposed for varying periods on various occasions in Nablus, Jenin, Beersheba and on the Jaffa-Tel Aviv boundary.

42. During August police and military activities were intensively pursued. Although the tactics of the bands, which operated quickly and efficiently, were difficult to counter, pressure has been steadily maintained by the military and the police, and the bandits, in country which suits them admirably and which renders attack or pursuit extraordinarily difficult, have been tenaciously pursued and harassed. There is a Turkish proverb that it is far easier to kill an elephant than a fly. Nevertheless, during August military and policy activities inflicted one hundred and thirty one known casualties among the bands and probably considerable number in excess of this figure.

The only major encounter took place on the 18th of the month when, as a result of the combined action of three military columns around the Acre-Safad road, the troops engaged and routed a large band, killing thirty seven of them and wounding many more.

43. The reaction of the tone of the Arab, Jewish and English (Palestine Post) Press on public security in the country has been a matter of preoccupation to myself and the General Officer Commanding, particularly during the last three months.

The Arab Press yielding partly to the pressure of terrorist threats and actuated partly by their own sympathies, persisted in giving a gratuitous and exaggerated publicity to any success achieved by the bandits. Such publicity not only encouraged lawlessness and violence, but also tended seriously to undermine Arab morale in the Government service and thus to render even more difficult the re-establishment of security in the country.

The influence of the Hebrew Press, including the 'Palestine Post', was no less dangerous. Editors allowed their journalistic zeal to leave no incident unpublished regardless of the fact whether or not such publication was, from a Jewish standpoint, politically advisable or even warranted. Indeed it is said that the bandits, in their desire to obtain the fullest publicity for their exploits, ensured that all reports of those exploits were, by pre-arranged scheme, conveyed hot-haste to the cafés of Jaffa, Haifa and Jerusalem where they were at once collected by enthusiastic Jewish reporters with the result that - paradoxical though it sounds - the Jewish Press became themselves the unwitting publicists of the enemy.

For a time the Public Information Officer appealed to editors, and official warnings and suspensions were ordered under the Press Ordinance, on the one hand to induce a more circumspect attitude in the Arab press, and on the other to convince Hebrew editors of the folly of their ways; but eventually it was apparent that neither was prepared or sensible enough to curb their activities, and accordingly on the 25th August, after consultation with the General Officer Commanding, I caused a Censor's Order to be issued under Defence Regulation 11(3) prohibiting to all the local Press any comment on local military or police operations or on the activities of the rebels and, secondly, any reference to such operations and activities other than in the terms of such official communications as would be made to them by the Press Bureau. I enclose

for your information a copy of the notice* in question.

Simultaneously I instructed the Public Information Officer to organize an augmented news service from military and police sources which should be made officially available to the Press and the Broadcasting Service. This has been done; and although, on the pretext that their journalistic independence and privilege has been threatened, the Hebrew editors in particular have expressed their strong disapproval of the system, the newspapers as they are now published are no longer the same menace to public security. This Censor's order will be maintained until further notice.

44. I reported to you on the 19th July that I had imposed a censorship of foreign Press telegrams leaving this country. This step was necessary in view of a series of wildly inaccurate and tendencious reports telegraphed to London and elsewhere in Europe, many of which were reproduced in news bulletins broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation and from Berlin, Italy and Moscow in the English programmes from these different centres.

This censorship remained in force for six weeks, after which I agreed to raise it. Its imposition revived among local correspondents some respect for accuracy and circumspection; it also inconvenienced their services by its inevitable delays; and it has been pointedly explained to all the correspondents concerned, that should they relapse into their former bad habits, the censorship could and would be re-imposed without delay.

This censorship, however, was not altogether satisfactory in that it could be evaded by recourse to trunk telephone communication with Egypt, Syria and the Lebanon whence messages which could not face the Jerusalem censor, could be sent unimpeded to their European destinations. Accordingly on the 30th August, and before the lifting of the Press telegraph censorship, I restricted under section 12 of Defence Regulations the use of trunk international facilities to a limited and selected number of persons not including the press correspondents. This is a repetition of action taken with good effect in the early summer of 1936.

45. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ministers at Cairo and Baghdad, to His Majesty's Minister at Jedda, to His Majesty's Consul-General and Consul in Beirut and Damascus respectively and to the British Resident in Amman.

I have, &c.,

HAROLD MACMICHAEL

High Commissioner for Palestine.

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* Not reprinted.

No. 10

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

to

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Received 29th October, 1938)

(SECRET)

Jerusalem, 24th October, 1938.

Sir,

In my secret despatch of the 13th September, 1938,* I described events, which took place in this country up to and including the 31st August. I now propose to continue the narrative from the 1st September up to and including the 2nd October, when the attack on Tiberias took place.

2. The month was, in every way, the worst since the disturbances broke out in 1936. The casualties reported in my weekly telegrams of the 6th September to the 3rd October are summarised as follows:-

Killed: 10 British police and soldiers, 74 Jews and 104 Arabs (excluding rebels): making a total of 188.

Wounded: 19 British police and soldiers, 73 Jews, 63 Arabs (excluding rebels) and 1 of other nationality: making a total of 156.

The number of wounded was exceeded during July, when over 400 persons were injured chiefly through the bomb outrages in Haifa and elsewhere, but the number killed has never been exceeded in one month during the present troubles: the figure in July, which was previously the highest, was 171.

While this is the first point to make in substantiation of the statement that September was the worst month, it is in some ways not the most significant. The second point, while less obvious, is much more serious. It is that, in the period under review, the disturbances have more than ever before assumed the character of open rebellion. Acts of sabotage were directed more against Government institutions as compared with Jewish settlements, and particularly against the railway and post offices. Practically all Arabs, Christian and Moslem, have assumed at the behest of the rebel "high command" the headdress of kaffiyeh and 'agal (I have addressed you separately on this subject); women are wearing the veil more and more; edicts have been issued by the rebels calling on all Arabs to come to their courts to settle their complaints rather than go to the King's courts; other decrees forbid strong language and loose morals and invite the wives of faithless husbands to seek redress in the rebel courts. All these facts indicate that the Arab movement has recently become more of a national one, and that it is directed as much against the Mandatory Power as against the Jews.

The rebels conduct a continuous and largely successful propaganda to show that their courts are more just, and above all more speedy, than the King's courts. Incidentally, it is no doubt for this quasi-administrative business that the gangs require typewriters: a considerable number of these machines have been stolen, chiefly from Government offices.

Thirdly, the rebellion is spread more widely over the whole country than it ever has been before. The drift to the south, recorded in my

* No. 9

last despatch, has continued and in the main it may be said that most of the major events of the month occurred in the Jaffa and Gaza districts, although serious incidents of various kinds occurred from time to time all over the country. The extent of the areas liable to rebel attack is also illustrated by the circumstance that the main road from Jerusalem to Jaffa and Tel Aviv became no longer safe for traffic, for there have been frequent incidents of sniping and stone-throwing at cars in Ramle and its neighbourhood, and some loss of life. The Jerusalem - Jericho road has also been badly damaged several times and traffic has been repeatedly fired on. Thus, whereas in 1936 and throughout this year until September, the Jerusalem - Nablus - Nazareth - Tiberias - Rosh Pinna road was the only trunk route to be really seriously and continuously affected by the troubles, it is now true to say that there is danger in travelling on any road in the country and also in travelling on the railway.

Fourthly, the rebellion has unquestionably become a national revolt involving all classes of the Arab community in Palestine and enjoying considerable support from the Arabs outside. While there are still a number of foreign volunteers it is no longer the fact that the majority of the armed men are foreigners; on the contrary they are "locals" and moreover there have been several instances of the villagers turning out en masse to assist a gang which is engaged with Government forces.

It is significant that as yet the heavy reverses and casualties inflicted on the bands by the Forces have had little effect on recruiting, and the rebels continue to face death or suffering from untreated wounds without the inducement of considerable cash reward.

Fifthly, a most disturbing element has appeared in the ease with which the emissaries of the gang leaders succeed in abducting "wanted" persons in the principal cities and towns in order to take them before the rebel courts for the purposes of interrogation, trial (frequently followed by summary execution), or the extortion of money. Arabs have so far been the sole victims - these abductions must not be confused with the kidnapping of Jews from purely terroristic motives - and it is particularly noteworthy that the sufferers make no attempt to resist, or to disclose their identity and the circumstances in which they find themselves even when passing through control points at which cars conveying them have been searched by the police, or to dispute the authority of their abductors in any way. This is sufficiently indicative of the prestige enjoyed by the gangs.

A certain number of Arab doctors have been forcibly pressed into service by the gangs for the treatment of wounded gangsters in the hills. Having carried out their work, these doctors have in every case been released and allowed to return safely to their homes.

3. This is a gloomy picture, but there are some factors of a more encouraging character. They are:-

(a) The recent successes of the troops and the arrival of reinforcements may reasonably be anticipated to make an impression. As regards the successes, the number of rebels killed during the month was 311, as against about 120 in the preceding month. The highest figure before that was 81 in March. The number of rebels wounded has similarly risen from about 30 in August to 67 in September. It is to be hoped that if the gangs continue to suffer losses on this scale there is bound to be some adverse effect on recruitment and the martial expression of patriotic enthusiasm.

(b) The orange season will be beginning shortly and the industry may possibly provide work for some of the unemployed who have probably joined the rebels for pay, subsistence and good living at the expense of the villages. The bad harvests this summer probably had some effect on the progress of the rebellion. While it is probable that

the rebels will seek to interfere with the orange trade - in order that there may be no inducement to the unemployed to forsake the hills - it is possible that they may, if they can, attempt to levy a pecuniary contribution on each box of fruit exported by Arabs.

With the advent of the rains many fellahin now with the gangs will wish to forsake a warlike for an agricultural avocation.

(c) No doubt many of the Arabs are getting tired of the disturbances, which have continued for so long and feel that the Arab case has now been forcibly enough demonstrated to the world, but this feeling alone is very far from being strong or influential enough to end the campaign of violence.

(d) Although the rebellion is widespread, there is no unity of command and the leaders tend to squabble among themselves. The most important gang leaders in Samaria, Abdul Rahim el Haj Mohammad and Aref Abdul Razzak, are known to be jealous of one another. Abdul Rahim often assumes the title of commander in chief in Palestine, but the organisers of the revolt in Syria would like to see him supplanted by Abdul Razzak. It is possible that Fakhri Abdul Hadi, an important figure in the 1936 disturbances who has recently arrived in Palestine, may succeed in establishing himself at the head of all the various gangs, but in view of their virtual independence for so long this is unlikely. Too much weight, however, cannot be attributed to these dissensions which are inherent in the Arab character.

(e) Differences like those among the local gang leaders are to be found within the "higher command" outside Palestine. Some of the leaders in Syria are now being accused of misappropriating funds; and Syrian Arabs are to be found asserting that the delay in the ratification of the Franco-Syrian treaty is due to British influence on account of their connection with the Palestine disturbances. The Cairo Congress has not found representatives of Arab countries nearly so united as they were two months ago. It is already recognized that much that has been done of late in Palestine by the bands has only harmed the Arab cause.

On the other hand lack of cohesion may also mean that the disturbances would not end so promptly as the 1936 troubles if the word were given. Even if the Arab leaders call for a cessation of activity, brigandage and terrorism on a restricted scale will continue sporadically and especially on account of the bad harvests which will cause much hardship this winter. Where there is lack of discipline in the field, there will not be discipline during an armistice or a peace. It is common knowledge that some of the murders are not political, but rather the actions of men exploiting the times to pay off old scores and redress old grievances. Similarly, the rebel bands are hampered in their efforts to enlist the support of the peasantry by the depredations of free lance gangs of brigands, who are concerned with blackmail and highway robbery rather than the cause of Arab freedom. Tulkarm, for instance, is tyrannized by no less than three gangs, one under Abdul Razzak which operates, as it were, in a regular fashion from political motives, and two irregular bands, one under the command of a land broker who has sold a considerable amount of property to the Jews, and the other under another adventurer of like category.

4. Finally, before recounting the narrative of incidents, mention must be made of the curtailment of normal administrative functions which has occurred during the month.

In September, 12 post offices and the district office at Beisan had to be closed because they could not be protected with the force available from the depredations of the gangsters; all the law courts except those

at Jerusalem, Jaffa, Tel Aviv and Haifa had similarly to be closed. The police stations at Khalsa near Safad, Lydda and Beersheba, the police posts at Beit Dajan near Ramle, Ain Haramiya, Talaat ed Damm and Ain Karim in the Jerusalem District, and five camelry posts in the Gaza-Beersheba area were also closed during the month for the same reason. Jericho was for a time in the hands of the rebels until troops were available for posting at the potash works at Kallia near by. Beersheba, Bethlehem and Ramallah were in like case for a time. In the absence of sufficient force, however, it was unavoidable during this period to concentrate available resources at the most important points rather than to dissipate troops and police in relatively small strength over the countryside. As you are aware, the Arab police can no longer be relied upon for armed duties and they have had to be disarmed and employed on duties not requiring the carrying of rifles. This meant that the man power of the Government forces was reduced by over 2,000 at a time when substitutes were not available.

5. The first major incident of the month, was when two Arab tax collectors in the Nazareth area were robbed of L.P. 183 in tax money. They were accompanied by the acting District Officer of Nazareth, who unwisely left the village of Saffuriya without an escort. He, the collectors and another official were abducted by the robbers, but all returned safely the next day.

On the same day incidents began in Jaffa with the stabbing of a Jew in the railway station. This was followed by a bomb outrage on the 2nd in a vegetable market on the Jaffa/Tel Aviv border when nine Jews were injured, and the shooting of a Jew in Tel Aviv. On the 4th, an Arab police sergeant was shot dead in Jaffa, and on the 5th two Jews were wounded on the Jaffa/Tel Aviv border. On that day, also, incidents started in the Ramle area. Shooting at cars on the main Jaffa/Jerusalem road, fortunately resulting in no casualties, led to a curfew being imposed on the road in respect of pedestrians but not wheeled traffic. The day was marked also by the shooting of two Jews in their offices at Lydda railway station; one was a clerk and the other a locomotive foreman. The murderers were not caught.

6. On the 6th, the centre of terrorism shifted momentarily to the north, where an Arab entered a Jew's shop in Tiberias, killed the shopkeeper and two Jewish customers and wounded another Jew and an Arab. He made off in a taxi which was waiting with the engine running, but on this occasion British police were quickly on the scene and, after an exciting chase along the shores of the Sea of Galilee towards Samakh, they stopped the taxi and arrested its four occupants. All four were sentenced to death by the Haifa Military Court on the 15th October, but the sentences have not yet been confirmed by the General Officer Commanding. That night a land mine exploded under a military truck which was patrolling the northern frontier road. It exploded killing two riflemen of the Royal Ulster Rifles outright, and fatally wounding an officer and a lance-corporal. The officer (Lieutenant Law) had been awarded the Military Cross only a few days before for gallantry in action in Palestine. Punitive action was taken against two villages near the scene of this crime and the Syrian press made considerable capital out of allegations of brutality by the troops during the searching and demolition of houses.

Land mines are common features of the rebel warfare and a source of danger and anxiety to all who have to use the roads and tracks. Road blocks, too, often contain land mines hidden among the stones, which go off when the block is being removed.

Considerable skill and ingenuity are displayed by the rebels in manufacturing, placing and operating (sometimes by electricity, remotely controlled) these infernal machines.

7. Meanwhile, incidents in Jaffa and Ramle recurred. On the night of the 5/6th, armed men gained entrance to the central police station at

Jaffa by climbing from the roof of an adjacent mosque. The Arab police were intimidated and the band stole 14 rifles, 3 revolvers and 800 rounds of ammunition from the armoury. They then drove away in motor cars. On the same night, the post office at Lydda and a large number of new railway sleepers, to the value of L.P. 8,000, stacked in the station yard, were set on fire. On the evening of the 6th, a cart carrying Jewish settlers was sniped near Rehovot: one was killed and three were wounded, of whom one was a woman. On the 7th, a Yemenite Jew was shot dead near Lydda airport and armed men raided the Jaffa municipal offices, held up the watchman and stole L.P. 41 from the safe.

As the result of these incidents, tension became high in Jaffa and its environs, and the District Commissioner imposed a curfew from 1 p.m. on the 7th till further notice. It was subsequently changed to the hours of 6 p.m. to 5 a.m. nightly. At the same time certain minor roads in the neighbourhood of Lydda airport and Petah Tiqva were closed to all traffic, except drivers in possession of permits. Also as the result of the Lydda incidents and the destruction of culverts on the Jerusalem - Jaffa line, the General Manager of the Railways suspended goods and passenger traffic over that section of the system.

8. On the night of the 7/8th, a determined and well organized attack was made on Enab police station, 15 kilometres from Jerusalem on the Jaffa road. It was partially frustrated by the courage of three British policemen who, happening to be in the vicinity on patrol and hearing that an attack was imminent, posted themselves on the roof for the station's defence. The rebels, however, gained possession of the ground floor by blowing open the main entrance to the station yard and the door of the armoury, and made off with three rifles and 3,000 rounds of ammunition. They also set the patrol car on fire and stole nine horses. During the engagement it is believed that two of the gang were wounded. The number of men implicated in the attack is shown by the fact that the main road in the vicinity of Abu Ghosh had been blocked in no less than twenty places.

On the next night the water pumping station at Bab el Wad, 6 kilometres west of Enab on the Jerusalem - Jaffa road, was attacked. The six Palestinian constables guarding the plant were disarmed and 300 rounds of ammunition were stolen.

9. On the afternoon of the 9th, incidents in the Gaza-Beersheba area, which had hitherto been comparatively quiet, began with an attack on the Government buildings at Beersheba. The gang approached the buildings in military style in a convoy of three trucks, headed by the commander who was travelling in a car. They are supposed to have numbered 60 to 70. The only British policeman in the offices at the time was Sergeant Landers, who fired at the attackers. They replied and eventually killed him. His body was afterwards found with the throat cut, but he was certainly fired upon and possibly killed before this act of savagery was perpetrated. The gang evidently knew the lie of the land and behaved in a disciplined way according to a preconcerted plan. They split into three parties on descending from the vehicles, one going to the post office and wireless station, another to the district offices and a third straight to the police station and prison. The first party wrecked the wireless apparatus, while the third demanded the keys of the armoury from the Arab police, after having killed Sergeant Landers. They secured the keys and stole a Lewis gun, 75 rifles and 10,000 rounds of ammunition. The prison was also opened and the prisoners allowed to escape. The band then made off in their cars in orderly fashion. The whole operation was completed in twenty minutes, and British police who came to the rescue on hearing shots were too late to catch the bandits.

10. On the evening of the 10th, an armed gang ambushed a convoy of the Palestine Electric Corporation's labourers at Masmiya on the Gaza-Jaffa road. The labourers got through the ambush, but the Jewish constables

who remained behind to engage the band were severely handled. Seven were killed and their rifles and ammunition taken. It is not known whether any casualties were inflicted on the attackers.

On the following day, an armed gang raided the post office at Khan Yunis and after stealing L.P.8, set fire to the building which was completely destroyed. They then took 4 rifles and all the ammunition from the guards at the Custom house. On the 13th, the bands in this area turned to armed robbery. Armed men robbed postal employees of four mail bags which were being carried between the Gaza post office and the railway station. In one of them was L.P.1,000 in Palestinian currency and £E.111 in Egyptian money. On the same day, also in broad daylight, L.P.11 was stolen from the safe of the magistrate's court and L.P.29 from the railway station at Majdal; and armed men entered Beersheba once more, took L.P.166 from the Government offices, disarmed 2 tax collectors and levied a fine of L.P.42 from the inhabitants, stating that they would come back for more.

11. Meanwhile, in Jaffa excitement prevailed. Attacks were directed against Government institutions and personnel. On the evening of the 9th, shots were fired and a bomb was thrown at the police headquarters: fortunately no one was hit. On the 10th, troops patrolling the Tel Aviv boundary were fired on, and during an exchange which lasted sporadically from about 1 p.m. to 5 p.m., five Arabs were killed and five wounded. An officer of the Irish Guards was also wounded. At noon on the 12th, armed men held up the guards at the Customs office at Jaffa port and stole L.P.400.

The tension spread to Jerusalem and Haifa. On the 10th, when the District Commissioner went into the old city of Jerusalem at noon, he was besieged by an angry mob, who protested violently against the searches which had recently been conducted. Eventually the mob had to be dispersed by a police baton charge and some persons were sent to hospital suffering from superficial injuries. On the next day, about 800 Arabs congregated in the Mosque area, many of the shops shut, and wild rumours of disorder circulated. Both inside and outside the walls, however, the town was heavily patrolled and nothing untoward occurred. In Haifa, on the 10th, shops in the Arab market were closed.

12. The widespread lawlessness and recklessness led in the next two days to major incidents of crime in all parts of the country. On the night of the 13th/14th, an armed gang about 150 strong entered Bethlehem and set fire to the police station, the municipal offices and the post office. No adequate force was available to withstand them. The police station, which is close to the Church of the Nativity, was completely gutted and the interior of the post office was considerably damaged, although the telephone exchange and safe were untouched.

On the same day a Royal Air Force aeroplane located 18 armed men in a lorry in the Gaza area and shot 12 of them.

A goods train was derailed between Haifa and Lydda: the engine driver was killed, the guard and fireman injured and the engine and thirteen trucks overturned.

13. Major incidents continued in all parts of the country on the 14th, which in respect of civilian casualties was the worst day of the month. Early that morning, a land mine exploded under an Arab bus which, on account of this very danger, had been compelled to precede a military patrol along the frontier road. Ten Arabs were killed and ten wounded. This fatality is important in that it provided ready fuel for allegations of brutality on the part of the troops. A broadcast emanating from King Ghazi's private station in Baghdad stated that the troops had laid

the bomb and made the unfortunate occupants of the bus go over it three or four times, until it went off. The resulting casualties were also, of course, exaggerated. Locally its repercussions were a strike in Acre, since most of the dead and wounded came from villages in that vicinity, and a hardening of hostile feeling in the north.

At 2 p.m. on the same day, another land mine exploded on a track near Beisan under a car in which the Jewish district officer and the Jewish veterinary officer from Affule, and two prominent Jewish mukhtars of settlements in that neighbourhood, were travelling. All of them were killed, except the District Officer, who miraculously escaped with minor injuries. The British constable who was acting as escort was wounded by shots fired at the party, when the bomb exploded, from armed men on the road side. A police patrol following the car dispersed the band, but the encounter was inconclusive.

Serious as this incident was, the general public, in Jerusalem at least, was almost more dismayed by the sniping at Ramle on the same afternoon. For some days past hooliganism had been common in this town which usually quickly reflects the conditions in Jaffa. Stones had been thrown and shots fired at Jewish cars passing through on their way between Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem. A prominent member of the Jewish Agency had been involved in one of these attacks. Nevertheless, all or almost all of the attempts had happily been unsuccessful. On the afternoon of the 14th, however, after some minor incidents of the kind described, a well known Jewish alienist, Dr. Rosenthal, was shot and killed while driving his own car through Ramle. Troops were quickly on the scene and killed an Arab in the vicinity of the crime, but the town was for a time in a state of disorder. A crowd tried to rush the hospital where the dead doctor had been taken, and were dispersed only after fourteen of them had been injured by rifle butts and batons.

On the same day, however, the tide began to turn in Government's favour with an encounter between an armed band and a party of the Black Watch assisted by aircraft. The engagement occurred on the Jerusalem-Hebron road and began when a ration convoy was held up by road blocks. Sixteen of the band were killed and five captured, while Government forces suffered no casualties.

14. This success was followed up the next day by an engagement at Deir Ghassana north west of Ramallah, in which it is estimated that 132 gangsters were killed. The importance of this action warrants a full description. Information had come to hand that the gang leaders planned a large gathering on the 15th in the Deir Ghassana area. An air reconnaissance was accordingly arranged on the afternoon of the 15th, and at the same time all available aircraft stood by for a concentrated attack if the reconnaissance was successful. At about 5 p.m. a congregation of armed men numbering 400 - 500 was observed and 12 aircraft answered the call for action. The band was engaged and the attack maintained until dark. Six aircraft were hit, but all returned without mishap to their base. During the night, a cordon of troops was drawn round the area; it closed in on the scene of action at dawn. The rebels had been hard at work during the night, burying the dead and removing traces of blood-stains. In the result no bodies were recovered. Nevertheless, there is no reason to suppose that the estimate of 132 casualties is an exaggeration. Some Arab sources have given figures of 70 - 140 killed and 80 - 100 wounded.

During the search operations of this area on the 16th, the Irish Guards encountered a small group of armed horsemen, some 17 strong. The Guards killed five of them and wounded three. Among those killed was Abu Khalid, one of the four main leaders in Samaria and of less importance only than Abdul Rahim and Abdul Razzak. Interesting documents were found

in his possession. His importance may be gauged by the circumstance that a country wide day of mourning among Arabs was proclaimed on the 23rd.

15. The effect of Deir Ghassana was marked, if transitory. During the succeeding day or two, there were fewer major incidents involving parties of several men to perpetrate them. At the same time brigandage continued and the terrorist, shooting to kill in the towns and villages either for the "national cause" or from personal motives, was not deterred.

On the afternoon of the 16th, trouble started in the Jericho area with the ambushing of a Palestine Potash convoy on the Jerusalem-Jericho road. Five trucks were set on fire and two Arab employees of the Company were killed and mutilated before troops and police arrived from Jerusalem and dispersed the attackers. That night, the premises of Dr. Olga Feinberg in Jericho were attacked. She was the only Jewess in the town and had won the confidence of the local people by her services to them. Dr. Feinberg herself, apprehensive of imminent trouble, had prudently moved to Jerusalem shortly before the attack.

16. On the night of the 17/18th, a lorry carrying Jewish constables struck a land mine on a track near Petah Tiqva. Three of them were killed and six injured, one fatally. Attacks on Arab police and Government personnel were reported with increasing frequency. On the 18th a detective sergeant was fatally wounded in Jaffa, and on the 17th a constable was killed in Jerusalem, where on the 18th a recruit was wounded.

17. On the 19th, a Jewish railway foreman was shot dead in Haifa.

On the night of the 20/21st a particularly brutal murder occurred when armed men killed five members of the household of the respectable Arab mukhtar of a village near Jerusalem, namely his wife, three small children and a shepherd in his employ.

18. On the 18th September, armed bands became active again in the Jerusalem and Southern Districts. That night, the Customs shed at Gaza was set on fire and gutted. On the night of the 18/19th, the buildings at Deir el Balah railway station were destroyed by arson, and on the morning of the 19th armed men entered Majdal railway station and stole L.P.27 from the ticket office. On the night of the 19th Arroub agricultural station near Bethlehem was burnt down, and the same fate overtook the model station at Majdal on the 26th.

19. On the night of the 20/21st all police and Government buildings in Beersheba were destroyed by fire, and the following evening armed men set on fire and destroyed the valuable telephone exchange in Bethlehem. On the same night a gang estimated to number 100 men entered Jericho and set fire to the police station, post office, customs office and agricultural station. They also dug up the Jerusalem - Jericho road in several places.

20. The gangs were not only concerned with arson: they concentrated also on sabotage of the railway line. The main up passenger train from Kantara to Haifa had a most adventurous journey on the 23rd, for it was stopped no fewer than five times owing to rails being removed and the necessity to dig out land mines from the track. The train was seven hours late at Lydda but fortunately it sustained no damage owing to the protection of a pilot trolley, the crew of which not only moved the mines but also shot and wounded a man whom they observed tampering with the track.

On the evening of the 24th and again on the afternoon of the 25th, all the buildings in the Gaza station yard were set on fire, while that night Majdal station was destroyed by arson.

A more serious disaster to the railways on the night of the 25/26th was the destruction of no less than 12 kilometres of track between Khan Yunis and Gaza. Bridges and culverts were also blown up by explosives. So extensive was the damage that rail services between Egypt and Palestine had to be suspended until the 2nd October.

21. While the main centre of disturbance was in the south during this period, murder, sabotage and armed robbery also continued sporadically in the north, in Jerusalem and in Jaffa. On the afternoon of the 19th, a land mine exploded under a military truck near Qalqilya: one soldier of the Irish Guards was killed and five others wounded. On the afternoon of the 21st, a Jewish constable guarding workers in a settlement near Ramle was shot dead, and the following morning another constable on similar duties in a nearby settlement was killed. On the afternoon of the 23rd, a patrol of the Royal Scots struck a land mine near Tulkarm and six soldiers were injured. On the 24th a lance-corporal of the King's Own Regiment was killed when a platoon was ambushed near Lydda. At noon on the 27th, three armed men entered Ramle police station, and murdered British Sergeant Stevens in his office. They made good their escape. On the morning of the 29th, an Arab Inspector of the Department of Health was murdered, also in broad daylight, in the Old City of Jerusalem.

22. These are the major incidents only during the last part of the month. The situation had by then deteriorated to such an extent that the murders of single Arabs and Jewish labourers were hardly considered worthy of mention by press correspondents whose telegrams were already long enough recording items of greater significance.

Haifa had been comparatively quiet, apart from continual arson of Jewish premises.

23. The crisis in Europe had its effect on Palestine in that two battalions and part of a mechanised cavalry regiment left the country for an unknown destination. The rebels took little advantage of this weakening of man-power at first, but ultimately it was one of the causes of the Tiberias outrage of the 2nd October.

The story of this brutal and disgusting massacre is of interest as showing the tactics and methods of the gangs. At about 9 p.m. a shrill whistle was heard from the hills to the north of the town; it was the signal for an advance from all sides. Simultaneously firing began. It was directed chiefly at the police billet and district offices and came from all directions. The police and troops immediately stood to and advanced in small parties in the direction of the shots, but whenever they approached one point, firing ceased and recommenced elsewhere. They were thus never able, in the dark, to make effective contact with the attackers. When the Government forces had been split up by these tactics, some rebels armed only with dirks and boxes of matches stole into the Jewish suburb of Kiryath Shmuel which lies on the slope of the hills north west of the main town. There they proceeded to stab men, women and children in three houses to which they then set fire. In one house, the mother and five children were killed in this way, in another a man, his wife and four children, in a third the householder and his sister. The beadle of the synagogue was also burnt to death when the building was destroyed. In all, nineteen persons were killed, including the children, and three were wounded; and only four of these were shot.

The gang itself suffered some losses that night, for a patrol located and engaged some gangsters on the surrounding hills and killed six of

them. The next day, troops and aircraft conducting search operations near Ghuweir abu Shushe, north of Tiberias, made contact with a large party of armed men and inflicted 35 casualties on them. On the same afternoon about 15 casualties were inflicted in another encounter on a band north of Safad.

24. This narrative shows that the disturbances developed during the month more than ever into a rebellion. The objective of the rebels was first and foremost the Government, and only secondarily the Jews. This development called for even severer restrictions on the press than those already enforced. In particular it demanded the closer muzzling of the Hebrew papers since they, for political, journalistic and psychological reasons, were always prone to exaggerate the successes of the bands, just as the Arab papers did from quite other motives. On the 26th August, therefore, an order was issued prohibiting editors from publishing any news about rebel activities or about police and military operations, except what emanated from the public information office. At the same time, the Public Information Officer was instructed to give the papers and the Jerusalem broadcasting station a much fuller service of news. The Jewish papers have on the whole observed this instruction, both in the spirit and the letter. It has been a difficult restriction for them to obey because it renders largely superfluous the accounts of their reporters and correspondents. In that respect it is in some ways a severer measure than one prescribing a pre-publication censorship of all press matter. It has been arranged, however, that reporters may still embellish the Public Information Office's accounts of incidents, which are of necessity laconic, dry and rigorously objective, by giving some further innocuous details as, for example, the name, occupation and origin of wounded and murdered persons. In this way, the semblance of newspaper accounts has been preserved.

The Arabic Press has found difficulty in observing the order because, like the rest of the Arab population, the editors are subjected to inexorable rebel pressure, and the gangs dislike publicity being given to their reverses and casualty lists. On the issue of the order, the editor of Falastin attempted to circumvent it and yet to keep his presses working by suspending the publication of Falastin and issuing instead a paper called Sirat el Mustaqim, which is an evening news sheet of insignificant reputation. Sirat el Mustaqim made no attempt to comply with Government's order. It was accordingly suspended for three months.

This device having failed, Falastin and Ad Difa'a found themselves once more in a dilemma. On the one hand they feared that rebel threats would be implemented if they published only the official news, and on the other hand suspension, with its attendant economic loss, if they overstepped the bounds. It was an impossible choice for them and they finally solved the problem by a voluntary suspension of all the Arabic papers for a fortnight between September 23rd and October 7th, when they reappeared in order to publish accounts of the proceedings of the Arab Parliamentary Congress in Cairo.

25. The situation also necessitated the imposition of restrictions on the correspondents for foreign newspapers. I have recently addressed you in a separate despatch about this matter in relation to certain complaints made to you by the London office of the New York Times; so it is unnecessary to go into much detail here. Briefly, the facts are that on the 31st August international trunk telephone facilities were restricted to the Consular Corps, certain Government officers and business firms, such as shipping and transport concerns, wholesale importers of vegetables, grain, etc., and other important undertakings which required these facilities for their bona fide business transactions.

On the 1st September, the censorship on press telegrams was lifted, but on the 8th it was re-imposed and continues up till now. In many ways the censorship is an advantage to the news agencies in that it slows down the pace of competition and enables them to be sure that their accounts are accurate. Correspondents are still able to send to their papers their extended views on the situation by means of air mail letters.

26. Owing to these restrictions, little action has been required against the local papers under the press Ordinance. "Haolam", a Hebrew weekly, was however suspended for two months for giving currency to a rumour that Mr. Crosbie, the District Commissioner of the Southern District, had left his house at Jaffa in order to live in the German (non-Jewish) colony of Sarona. To this untruth was appended a long article accusing Mr. Crosbie of always having shewn a partiality against the Jews.

The periods of exclusion of several Syrian, Lebanese and Egyptian papers were extended, usually for calumnies against the troops. Two Polish papers were excluded for expressing extreme Revisionist views.

27. Something has already been said about the effect of the European crisis on Palestine. It remains to record the facts in fuller detail. On the 28th and 29th September, when the situation approached its climax, there was something of a run on the banks, principally in Tel Aviv and to a lesser extent in Jerusalem and Haifa. People for the most part sought to withdraw their money and to put it into safe deposit. On the same dates there was some buying up of provisions for household stocks against emergency. On the 30th, however, the situation was already returning to normal and by the beginning of October the hoarders were being pilloried in the columns of the Jewish press. During those days, Government prohibited the exportation of all foodstuffs other than citrus fruit, and took certain preliminary and precautionary steps to meet the threat of war. The Jewish Press found scope to castigate the Government for failing to concern itself sufficiently with air raid precautions; and when war seemed inevitable, the Hebrew newspapers hastened to align themselves with Britain. The Munich Agreement, on the other hand, was described as 'peace with dishonour' and, alleging that in Central Europe Great Britain retreated before the threat of armed force, Jewish opinion as expressed in the newspapers has drawn comparisons between the Czechs in Czecho-Slovakia and themselves in Palestine.

The effect on Arab opinion of European affairs has not been easy to assess. There is one school of thought which genuinely feared that a world war would be detrimental to the Palestine Arabs because in the face of such danger Great Britain would proceed ruthlessly and summarily to crush them, without wasting time, in order to be free unreservedly to concentrate her attentions elsewhere. The others took the view that, for the same reason and especially in order to release all available troops for European service and to win the support of the Arab world, Great Britain would at once throw the Jews overboard and conclude a hasty "peace" with the Arab rebels more or less on their own terms.

I have, &c.,

HAROLD MACMICHAEL.

High Commissioner for Palestine.

No. 11

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

to

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Received 12th December, 1938.)

(SECRET)

Jerusalem. 3rd December, 1938

Sir,

In my last situation despatch (secret (A) of the 24th October*), I reported events up to the 2nd October inclusive. I will now continue the narrative up to the 9th November, i.e. the eve of the publication in Palestine of the summary of the Partition Commission's report and the statement of His Majesty's Government.

2. The shadow of the Report brooded over the country, so that although the rebellion continued unabated, the interest of the people was often centred upon discussions in England rather than on local incidents, which indeed have come to be regarded now as almost normal. There was naturally a great deal of speculation about what the policy of His Majesty's Government would be, and some of it was extremely wild. Almost everyone however believed that there would never be partition. The Arabs, to whom the wish was father to the thought, believed that Tewfiq Suaidi's mission, coupled with the tenacity of the rebels, had convinced His Majesty's Government of the justice of Arab demands, i.e. that Jewish immigration would be completely stopped, at least for a period; land sales would be forbidden; and Palestine would get some form of representative Government, with the Arabs having a majority of the seats in the elected Assembly, preparatory to achieving independence on the lines of Iraq.

3. The Jews, whose demands judging from the Press suddenly became more reasonable, expected a set back of some kind. They felt that a Jewish state was now farther than ever from realization, and that the Balfour Declaration, as they view it, would be so interpreted in the immediate future as to render it almost unrecognizable. The National Home, they believed, would be held by the British to be already established, so that His Majesty's Government could argue that they had fulfilled all their obligations in admitting those Jews who have already entered Palestine. Psychologically inured to disaster, they seemed almost to look forward to the bittersweet of a 'betrayal', which would at least afford the opportunity of reproaching the British with weakly retreating before terrorism. They used the Munich Agreement to prepare their public for such a blow: the whole Hebrew press denounced that policy of appeasement. The Palestine Post, for instance, had a leader on 'peace with dishonour' showing that the noble and enlightened Czechs had been cast aside, just because they were defenceless. All the Hebrew papers gave prominence to sayings such as that attributed to M. Blum that he 'received the news of the agreement with relief and shame'.

4. What the Jews most fear is not the abandonment of partition, but the possibility of becoming a minority in a full fledged Arab State. Their fear of this is in part attributable to the fate of the Assyrians and, to a lesser degree, the Jews in Iraq; but far more to the fact that as Zionists they feel with deep conviction that they have a peculiar right to come to Palestine and to live in Palestine, a right essentially different from that of the Baghdadi Jew to remain in Baghdad. They believe that it is essential to mark that difference in some way in the constitution and policy of this country; at present, it seems to them that the only way their status can be safeguarded, if partition is

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abandoned, is for the British to remain in an administrative as well as an advisory capacity.

The immediate result of these forebodings has been a closing of the ranks. The labour party suddenly started offering an olive branch to the Revisionists, in particular by stating that they might allow members of the 'Hagana' to enter the ranks of the temporary additional police. Many Revisionists in Palestine, seeing the gravity of the times, were prepared at first to accept these overtures, but in the last few days of the period under review the influence of Jabotinsky, the realization that the position was not so hopeless after all, and the adamant refusal of the Zionist and labour parties to allow them to control the 'Kofer Hayishuv' funds resulted in the break off of negotiations. Latterly the Revisionist newspaper 'Hayarden' reverted to its old tone of attacking Dr.Weizmann for vacillation and for being too pro-British. The episode is interesting as showing that if Britain attempted to introduce a policy acquiescing in all the Arab demands, His Majesty's Government would have to be prepared to face a united Jewry, the resources of Labour and Zionism marching side by side with the violence of Revisionism.

5. In short, both Arabs and Jews have used the month to stake a final claim. The Arabs had their conference at Cairo. It was not a success, owing to the abstention of Ibn Saud, the Emir Abdullah and the Mufti, for various reasons. It did not publicly recommend a cessation of rebellion as many had hoped; though it is believed that that was mooted secretly, perhaps because the politicians are aware that they have lost much of their influence over the gangs. The congress contented itself with being intransigent. It produced all the well known demands, including first and foremost that "the Balfour Declaration is null and void".

The Arabs also strove to close the ranks, but by way of murder rather than negotiation. Nothing shocked the Arabs of Palestine more than the murder of Hassan Sidky Dajani, which is reported in detail below. This incident shows that no one is safe from terrorism. Rebel circulars and manifestos, which increased greatly in volume during the month, acquired thus an added sanction. Dajani, an unscrupulous and selfish time server whose prime object was to make personal capital out of all his activities from politics to drug-trafficking, may have been killed by half a hundred enemies for half a hundred treacheries. Yet the public firmly believed that he met his death because he was a friend of the Amir Abdullah, with a record showing that he has not always followed Haj Amin's party line; and public opinion was probably not far from the truth.

6. Indeed, the month has shown in other ways that this is peculiarly the Mufti's rebellion. In the first place, the differences among the gang leaders, alluded to in my last despatch, took on more and more the colour of a faction fight of the Mufti's supporters against those who are more catholic in their attachments. Yousef Abu Durra and Aref Abdul Razzak are the leaders in vogue at present because they are uncompromising, while Abdul Rahem el Haj Mohammad and Fakhri Abdul Hadi are felt to be too intelligent and independent to be safe. Fakhri in particular is potentially powerful because of his family in Jenin and because he is a hero who won his spurs in 1936. He is anathema to the 'orthodox' rebels, and an unconfirmed rumour has it that he and Abu Durra have already come to blows in a fight in which 21 lives were lost. What is certain is that Aref Abdul Razzak, who is the gangster leader in charge of assassinations, has all the leading members of the Abdul Hadi family, including Ruhi Bey of the Secretariat, high up on his black list and several of them have had to leave the country to protect their lives.

There are also signs that the Mufti wishes to spread the disaffection to Trans-Jordan. At Kreimeh, for instance, rifles and ammunition were stolen from a police post. The same tactics are apparently to be employed

as those which proved so successful in Gaza and Beersheba, and may be designed to show that the Amir Abdullah is persona non grata with the Palestinian Arabs and that only the Mufti could fill the bill as the ultimate ruler of Palestine.

It was rumoured after Ibn Saud's abstention from the Cairo Congress that a resolution would be passed forbidding Arabs of the Near East to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. It is difficult to conceive how a movement which purports to be a jihad could reconcile with itself such a pronunciamento, denying, as it would, one of the five pillars of Islam.

7. The Jews, meanwhile, have galvanized with the pen all their allies into activity. This has been particularly apparent in England and in America. The American Consul General in Jerusalem was able to assure Arab deputations that his Government's policy of neutrality was unaltered by the circumstance that a petition with 100,000 signatures had been sent to the President, urging him to use his best endeavours on behalf of Jewry. These assurances, however, did not convince Aref Abdul Razzak who despatched an amusingly misspelt letter to Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Cordell Hull and others, threatening that, if America meddled in the Palestine problem, her goods would be boycotted and her institutions raised to the ground.

8. The volume of rebel proclamations has increased during the period under review. Apart from communiqués giving accounts of rebel actions, others fall into four main groups:-

(a) Denials of dissension among the 'Mujahiddin'.

(b) Accounts of punishments carried out against traitors and dissentients, often by mutilation, stoning and other ancient forms of execution.

(c) Allegations of brutality, particularly indecent assault, on the part of troops or Jewish police.

(d) Instructions to the public. These last have decreed such things as a general strike as a protest against the occupation of Jerusalem and forbade obedience to the order compelling travellers in motor vehicles along the inter urban and rural roads to take out traffic passes; warnings against espionage and spreading dissension among the rebels; the boycott of newspapers such as Al Difa'a or the soap of a Nablus manufacturer; quasi-ethical edicts forbidding Arab women to follow European modes, to go to hairdressers or to sell commodities. Sumptuary laws are never universally obeyed, and the last-mentioned is no exception; but in general it is pitiful to observe how amenable Christian Arabs and even Armenians are to these irksome and reactionary "regulations". Up to date there is little doubt that the Arabs fear the terrorists far more than they respect the government: it remains to be seen in the future whether they fear starvation even more, for without a traffic pass, many commercial firms and orange growers will be facing bankruptcy.

9. Apart from such considerations, however, the general security situation in the country when judged by the casualty returns has somewhat improved during the month. I reported last month that there had been 188 deaths among British troops, police and civilians. From 4th October - 7th November, 99 were killed including one soldier accidentally. They consisted of 9 British police and soldiers, 31 Jews and 59 Arabs.

The number of wounded has fallen from 156 to 139, including 4 British and 1 Jewish constables accidentally. They may be classified as 33 British police and soldiers, 72 Jews, 33 Arabs and 1 other.

The number of rebels killed and wounded during the month is roughly 282, as compared with an approximate 311 killed and 67 wounded mentioned in my last report.

The reason for this improvement is that more troops and police are now available. Their distribution at the time of writing forms the enclosure * to this despatch.

Finally, a reason for the improvement was the operations in Jerusalem, Gaza and Jaffa, not so much in their results as because they were a show of force, demonstrating the determination of Government to extirpate terrorists from the towns where they are so difficult to control.

10. I now turn to the narrative of daily events. The period started with a series of successful military actions in Galilee, following the Tiberias massacre. On the 5th, troops and aircraft inflicted upwards of 50 casualties on two bands who are believed to have had some connection with the Tiberias attack. The first band was located near Migdel on the northern shore of Lake Tiberias, and was dispersed after a running fight lasting for four hours during which it is estimated that the rebels sustained 36 casualties. The engagement of the second band started with the ambush of a patrol on the Safad-Acre road. On being attacked, the gang split into two, one part retreating to the north and the other to the south of the road. Aircraft arriving later located the northern party near Jish. In the two ensuing actions about 50 casualties are believed to have been inflicted. Among those killed was the leader in this area known by nickname as "Abu Khader". Government forces sustained no losses. In the searches of Tiberias itself, seven known rebels were arrested and some rifles and ammunition were seized. Forty tents in the vicinity belonging to Beduin, suspected of having harboured the Tiberias attackers or assisted in the raid, were destroyed.

In order to prevent a repetition of the Tiberias massacre, LP.3,000 was immediately provided for additional works of protection at Nazareth, Tiberias and Acre. These measures, and the arrival of troops, probably forestalled an attack on Nazareth which the rebels were supposed to be contemplating.

11. On the 6th another important engagement followed the murder of two Jewish truck drivers and the wounding of another on the Acre-Ras en Naqura road. It started when in the early morning a police patrol found the road blocked and three lorries burning near by. When the police stopped to investigate, they were heavily fired on and engaged a large band. They held their ground till troops and aircraft arrived on the scene, when they drove the gang inland towards Tarshiha. There the rebel numbers were swelled by the addition of villagers, and the fight continued until the afternoon by which time about 50 casualties had been inflicted on the band. A number of rifles and ammunition were also seized. The Government forces sustained no losses.

On the 10th October, a further severe reverse was inflicted on the rebels, when an armed band about 80 strong attacked Moaz settlement near Beisan. They came from Trans-Jordan. The settlement police held the attackers until Trans-Jordan Frontier Force and aircraft arrived, when the rebels retreated to the Jordan. In the result, eleven of them were killed including one of the local leaders known as Abu Rahal, and 9 rifles and 135 rounds of ammunition were captured. The only casualty to Government forces was Captain Seymour Evans of the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force, who was wounded in the arm. These engagements had a marked effect on the rebel cause in the North: there has been no major encounter in that area since.

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* Not printed

12. Meanwhile, however, terrorism continued unabated, particularly in the south. On the afternoon of the 3rd, a small Arab boy shot and seriously wounded a Jew near Jaffa post office. On the 4th, a Jewish baker was killed and a Jewish motor cyclist was seriously wounded on the outskirts of Jaffa. An Arab was killed in station road, Jaffa, on the afternoon of the 5th, and the following morning an Arab constable was shot dead in the same street. On the 8th, in broad daylight, shots were fired at an Arab constable who was actually standing outside the Jaffa central police station: he was dangerously wounded. In no case was the assailant apprehended.

The same type of incident was reported with distressing frequency from other parts of the country. On the 3rd, an Arab constable was fatally wounded in the Acre car park, and a Jewish engine driver was killed in the cab of his locomotive which he was driving on the outskirts of Haifa. On the 4th, the bodies of two Arabs who had been shot were found near Tulkarm: one of them was the washerman employed by the troops in Nablus. The next day at noon an Arab constable was taken in a car from his house in Gaza to the outskirts and there shot dead. On the 8th two Arabs, one of whom was a mukhtar, were shot dead in the Tulkarm suq. The next morning an Arab posts and telegraphs employee was stabbed and slighly wounded at the Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem, and an Orthodox Jew was stabbed to death and an Arab was dangerously wounded in Haifa.

On the same day the heads of two Moghrabis, who had been members of the Mufti's personal bodyguard, were found in a sack inside the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem. They had been missing from Jericho for some weeks and their headless bodies had been found several days before near Nablus.

13. A minor incident, showing however very clearly the bad state of the country, occurred on the 9th, when armed men broke into the Assistant District Commissioner's house in Ramle and made off with Government and personal property. On the same day his car was sniped as he was returning home, and in the circumstances it was deemed prudent that he should move his residence to the R.A.F. lines. The District Commissioner visited Ramle the next day and a fine of LP.300 was imposed and collected.

In the same area, a Jewish policeman was killed by Arabs, who sniped the police post from an orange grove.

While these incidents were continuing, sniping at Jewish settlements and at Government offices, chiefly military and police billets, went on as usual, and there was a good deal of arson, particularly in Haifa, where shops even in the main street of the town did not escape. The situation was thus extremely bad, although organized bands no longer ventured to cross swords with Government forces.

14. On the 10th, after my visit to England, a statement was published saything that, as a result of those discussions, it had been decided to send further reinforcements to this country. By the addition of four more battalions, a battery of artillery, and some armoured cars, with ancillary troops, it was announced that the strength of the military forces would be brought up to 17 battalions of infantry, 2 horsed cavalry regiments, and a battery of artillery; and that the British section of the Palestine Police was to be augmented. This statement, followed as it was on the 18th and 19th by the appointment of Military Commanders in the Districts to perform the functions of the District Commissioners under the Defence Regulations, had an immediate effect in heartening the Jews. It did not, of course, have any prompt effect upon the Arabs, who waited to see what the practical results would be.

15. The justification for strengthening the British Police is sufficiently proved by the catalogue of murders, which I have just enumerated. All or almost all of the crimes were committed in broad daylight, often in the heart of the towns, yet no evidence was ever

available to enable the police to find the assassin. The only occasion when a would be assassin was apprehended was on the 4th when a British police patrol saw an Arab fire a shot at a Jew near the old general post office in Jerusalem. They chased him into the old city where they found him in the back yard of a shop. He was tried later by the Jerusalem military court, sentenced to death and executed.

On the evening of the 10th an Arab police constable was killed in the Haifa suq; on the morning of the 11th, two Arabs seriously wounded a Jew near the New Gate, Jerusalem, and an Arab was shot dead in a Moslem quarter of the old city. In the afternoon a Jewish shop owner was seriously wounded in the new city. On the same day occurred the throwing of two bombs at a convoy of cars, among which was the District Commissioner's, as it was passing the archaeological museum. These incidents show that terrorism was then as rampant in Jerusalem as it was in Jaffa.

16. Apart from the terrorists in the towns, the armed gangs became active again in the south at about this time. On the afternoon of the 11th, a party of the Worcestershire Regiment encountered an armed band near Walaja south west of Jerusalem, and with the co-operation of aircraft inflicted a number of casualties. A private soldier was killed and another wounded in this engagement. At about the same time, a military and police patrol was ambushed on the Jerusalem-Hebron road and, after a short but severe encounter, the band dispersed sustaining 13 casualties, at least 4 of whom were killed. A British constable was seriously wounded, and 3 soldiers were injured when their lorry overturned. The three aircraft which assisted in the action were more unfortunate. One of them made a forced landing, while another was brought down by a stray bullet and was a total loss. The observer of the second machine reached Hebron the following morning after some hair raising adventures; but the pilot, Sergeant Packer, has never been found. It is to be presumed that he was killed.

On the same day a detachment of Royal Engineers who went into the Nablus suq to demolish a house, encountered determined opposition. Sporadic firing between the two sides continued for an hour and a half during which time six Arabs were hit. One of them was shot while in the act of firing a revolver at the troops, while another was wounded when running away with a supply of ammunition. Government forces miraculously escaped unscathed and the house was eventually blown up.

A search of Shafr Amr was conducted on the 13th (near Haifa): by an unfortunate chance, a trench mortar misfired and killed three women and wounded others.

17. The rebels were still able to persist in sabotage. During the night of the 11/12th about 2,000 orange trees belonging to the Nashashibi family near Yibna were cut down, and the following night 8,000 Jewish owned trees in the same area were destroyed. On the morning of the 13th, damage (estimated at LP.20,000) was done by arson to Maspero's cigarette factory near Jaffa. It was on that day that the body of Hassan Sidky Bey Dajani was found near a small village west of Ramallah.

18. The importance of this man and the profound effect that his murder had upon the Arab population warrant a rather fuller description of the circumstances leading up to the crime. It appears that on the afternoon of the 12th Hassan Sidky was invited to meet Aref Abdul Razzak in a village near Ramallah. He duly went to the village, accompanied by his brother Dawood and his cousin Zaki, and had a seemingly friendly conversation with the rebel leader. The party then left in their car for Jerusalem. A short distance from the place, however, they were stopped by a party of armed Arabs and Hassan Sidky was taken out of the car. The other two were told to go back towards Ramallah and spend the night at a village. The next morning they were allowed to return to Jerusalem, and on passing the spot where Hassan Sidky had been taken out of the car they found his body

lying on the track and took it to Jerusalem. The Arabic newspapers did not venture to make any comment on this incident: it was left to the Hebrew dailies to supply the appropriate headlines. Aref Abdul Razzak also took the trouble to deny the official communication and to defend himself against the charge of any complicity in Dajani's death. The whole episode is still wrapped in mystery, but it is a sufficient reminder that "he who sups with the devil must use a long spoon".

19. During the next few days, isolated murders and attempted murders went on as usual. In Jerusalem on the 14th an Arab and a Jew were wounded in separate incidents. Police investigating the first affair were fired on. The next day a bomb was thrown and shots fired early in the morning at British police who entered the Damascus Gate to see why it was being shut. Later, another bomb was thrown and shots fired at a police patrol in the heart of the old city. On the 16th matters in the old city reached a climax with several incidents. First, shots were fired from the city wall just outside the Secretariat at employees of the Jerusalem Electric Corporation who were mending wires. No one was hit. Police on the roof of the Government offices returned the fire.

Second, a bomb was thrown and shots fired at British police on the borders of the Arab and Jewish quarters, and in the exchange of shooting which followed a constable was wounded, an Arab was killed and an Arab and a Jew were wounded.

Third, a bomb exploded near the platform on which the Dome of the Rock is situated inside the Haram esh Sharif. The place where this happened was too far from the outer wall for it to have been thrown into the enclosure. It is thus almost certain that it was being manufactured there. Four Arabs were slightly injured by the explosion.

Fourth, two bombs were thrown at the military billet in the citadel, which is near the Jaffa Gate.

Rumours immediately started to circulate freely throughout the country, particularly in regard to the bomb in the Mosque area, and a 24 hours curfew was imposed on the old city.

20. On the next day, the "siege of Jerusalem" began. Before the military dispositions were completed for the occupation, police and parties of troops were stationed all round the old city, particularly on the top of the Government offices, the archaeological museum and the citadel, and they kept up a sporadic fire all day against snipers who were shooting at them. The only definite incident, however, was a fire which broke out in the old city police station in the morning. It was much the same on the 18th, and it was inevitable in these circumstances that a state of considerable tension should prevail. It was rumoured that a thousand rebels under a well known leader had assembled in the Mosque area and that they would emerge during the night to overrun new Jerusalem. Various persons made it their business to alarm the British population living near the Walls and to urge them to evacuate their houses. There were rumours that the occupation of the old city, which was scheduled for the morrow, would cost many lives. Fortunately, the result was very different from the anticipation.

21. At 6 o'clock on the morning of the 19th, the 1st battalion of the Royal Northumberland Fusiliers and the 3rd battalion of the Coldstream Guards comprising the Cairo (Reserve) Brigade, entered the old city the former through the Jaffa Gate and the latter through the Zion and Dung Gates. By 8.15 a.m. troops had reached their first objective, which was briefly the occupation of the street running from the Damascus Gate to the Dung Gate and the effective cutting off of the Armenian, Christian and Jewish quarters from the Moslem quarter. The Damascus Gate, which had been barricaded from the inside, was forced. Additional cordons were established from this point to St.Stephen's Gate in order to isolate the Haram esh Sharif and the first section to be searched, namely the Bab Hutta quarter just inside Herod's Gate.

Search operations began immediately, with the help of British police and women searchers. By nightfall approximately one third of the Moslem quarter had been thoroughly combed.

A certain amount of opposition was encountered in the neighbourhood of the Damascus Gate, where two British constables, a Black Watch private and a Coldstream guardsman were slightly wounded. On the whole, however, the search proceeded remarkably smoothly. On that day 9 Arabs, including one woman, were killed, 3 were seriously wounded and admitted to hospital, and 15 were slightly injured. On the 20th, when searches continued, the bodies of 4 more Arabs were taken from the old city. There was practically no sniping that day, but a guardsman was slightly wounded. On the 21st, a guardsman was killed by shots fired from an automatic weapon from a minaret adjoining the Mosque area at the Bab el Silsileh. There was heavy firing from this minaret, easily seen by numerous witnesses from the Government offices, for upwards of an hour until it was silenced by the return fire of the forces. It is certain that more than one sniper was inside this minaret.

Otherwise, there was no incident except that a small fire broke out in a house near the Bab el Silsileh. It was quickly extinguished.

22. The 22nd was a quiet day, and the curfew was lifted from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. On the 23rd the operations came to an end. Very little ammunition and few rifles were found, but the searches were successful in that control of the old city was restored with so little bloodshed. The total Arab casualties from the whole operation were 19 killed and 25 wounded including outpatients.

Propagandists in neighbouring Arab countries were not slow to accuse us of brutality in the old city and of desecrating the Holy Places. A broadsheet on this matter is enclosed.

Actually, however, the troops from two of the most celebrated regiments in the British Army behaved in an exemplary fashion. General O'Connor, who was in command of the operation, and to whose conduct of affairs I desire to offer the warmest tribute, included in his orders of the day a reminder that 95% of the inhabitants were peaceful citizens, and orders that minarets were not to be fired at unless the troops were actually sniped therefrom, and the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque al Aqsa were not to be fired at, no matter what the provocation. These orders were scrupulously obeyed. Troops never entered the Haram esh Sharif, but by arrangement with the Supreme Moslem Council they were stationed from the third day of the operations in buildings overlooking the sacred area, including the Rawdat el Ma'aref school which is the reputed site of Pontius Pilate's judgment hall. After the searches were over, the District Commissioner accompanied by military officers, including the commander of the 18th Brigade, visited the Mosque area at the invitation of the sheikhs. They found some spent cartridge cases in a minaret. The sheikhs stated that the persons who had fired these shots had done so without their knowledge or consent.

23. During the period that the rebels overran certain quarters of the old city the Wailing Wall had been tampered with. Two stones were chipped, the wall face was blackened with smoke, and Hebrew prayer-books and appurtenances of worship in an adjoining booth had been destroyed by fire.

A siege of this kind was bound to cause a certain amount of suffering to innocent people. Apart from the killing and wounding of bystanders on the first day, many people soon lacked food. Arrangements were, however, made as soon as possible for the distribution of bread to the inhabitants and the infant welfare clinic of the Health Department continued its work throughout the operations.

24. Although interest was naturally centred during these days on Jerusalem, incidents recurred as usual in all parts of the country. On the 13th two Jewish special constables were killed near Tel Aviv. On the 15th an Arab police inspector was shot dead in Jaffa near the central

police station, and an Arab shopkeeper was dangerously wounded in Haifa. On the morning of the 16th, an Arab was dangerously wounded in Jaffa and the next day a member of the well known Shanti family was shot and wounded in that town. On the 17th, a Jewish engineer employed on the construction of the new infectious diseases hospital near Jerusalem was killed in his office by armed men. Two Jewish constables were killed and 6 wounded when a motor boat in which they were patrolling Lake Huleh was sniped from across the Syrian border.

25. On the 18th a Jew was killed on the Jaffa/Tel Aviv road, and this incident was quickly followed by others in that neighbourhood. In the afternoon a bomb exploded in an Arab's house on the Jaffa/Tel Aviv border; the owner was killed and his wife and child were wounded. Though it appears probable that the man was manufacturing the bomb himself, the word went round that Jews had done it and there was some shooting in the Jewish suq, during which an Arab was slightly wounded. Simultaneously, Jewish cars were sniped on the Jerusalem - Tel Aviv highway just outside Jaffa. Two passengers in a bus were killed and three Jewish taxi drivers were slightly wounded. Among those killed was the Jewish Mukhtar of Gan Yavne, whose sympathy with and understanding of the Arabs render his death particularly deplorable. The next day an Armenian, who may have been mistaken for a Jew, was shot dead in Jaffa and a Jew was killed on the Tel Aviv border. Sniping at traffic continued. Troops and police were fortunately on the scene quickly after one attack, and one Arab was killed and three wounded.

On the 20th another attack was foiled when troops and police killed one Arab, wounded another, and captured 5 prisoners. In spite of these two reverses, however, Jewish traffic was again attacked on the 21st when a passenger in a bus was wounded near Mikveh Israel just outside Jaffa.

26. Apart from Jerusalem and Jaffa, the rest of the country was by no means quiet. On the night of the 20/21st armed Arabs entered the Gaza government hospital and killed a woman. An Arab was shot dead in Nazareth. On the 22nd, the Arab kavass of the District Commissioner, Haifa, was wounded in that town, while his nephew was shot dead at about the same time in another attack. In Hebron an Arab constable was killed.

On the 23rd, two Arabs set upon a Jewish milkman who was going his rounds in a suburb of Jerusalem, and wounded him dangerously with an axe; he has since died. Police observed two persons running from the scene and killed one of them, capturing the other.

On the 24th, an Arab detective constable was shot dead while sitting in a barber's shop in Haifa.

27. Meanwhile the troops were active, and in a number of minor engagements inflicted casualties on such bands as they were able to locate. On the 18th two platoons of the 1st battalion the South Staffordshire Regiment and 3 aircraft inflicted many casualties on a band near Ibelin, while a patrol of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, which was ambushed, inflicted 3 casualties on their attackers. On the 19th a patrol encountered a party of armed men, who had punctured the oil pipe line and killed 2 of them. On that day also Acre town was searched and over a hundred men were taken into custody for examination.

On the 20th a military patrol killed 5 bandits near the Horns of Hittin, west of Tiberias. On the 21st, following an ambush of a ration convoy of the 1st battalion the Border Regiment near Nablus, a troop of the 11th Hussars, a detachment of the 1st battalion the Royal Scots and 4 aircraft came to their assistance and killed 19 of the rebels, inflicting other casualties. A drummer of the Royal Scots was killed and two other ranks of the same regiment were wounded. On the 22nd an R.A.F. aeroplane engaged a band near a village north west of Jerusalem and is believed to have caused ten casualties.

More important than these engagements was the drive in Galilee when 2,000 men conducted an operation on the 25/26th among the almost inaccessible hills in the triangle Safad-Nazareth-Acre. The main object of this action was to render the Acre-Safad road, which had recently been dug up many times, safe for traffic and to 'show the flag' in the area. Little opposition was encountered, but on the 25th a detachment of the 2nd battalion the Royal West Kents killed 5 rebels.

28. During the last week of October and the first days of November, largely no doubt as a result of these operations by the Army, the situation was somewhat quieter. The improvement was only comparative, however, as will be seen from the narrative that follows.

On the 26th shots were fired from an orange grove at a party of Jewish settlers near Rishon le Zion and one of them was killed. On the 27th the mayor of Tiberias, a Sephardic Jew long resident there, was fatally wounded in broad daylight in the centre of the town. On the 28th an Arab constable was killed in Hebron by an assassin dressed in Moslem woman's clothes. That night armed men entered Arraba village (Samaria) and shot the Mukhtar dead. On the 29th the Mayor of Beisan was abducted, but he has since returned unharmed. On the 30th a Jew was attacked in the Manshiya quarter of Jaffa and stoned to death. The only military operations of importance during this period were at Ein el Mansi near Megiddo and at Gaza on the 29th. The former village was surrounded by 2 platoons of the Royal West Kents acting on information received that a rebel court was in session. One armed man was killed, and the president and five members of the "court" were captured, together with some paraphernalia of typewriters, stamps and stationery. Seven firearms and a quantity of ammunition were seized and 50 suspects detained for interrogation. Gaza was searched by troops of the 20th Infantry Brigade, assisted by troops of the 19th Brigade. It was a large scale operation in which about 2,000 men were involved. Few arms were found, but 300 persons were removed to the camp at Sarafand for further interrogation. There was practically no shooting and no bloodshed.

29. On the 1st November the restrictions on travel throughout Palestine came into operation. It is now necessary for everyone who wishes to travel along the roads between towns or villages to be in possession of a military pass. In addition, drivers of motor vehicles within urban areas must have a pass as well as a driving licence. As from the 7th it was decided that no one who was not in possession of an identity card would be issued with a pass. Women are not required to be in possession of such passes. The object of these orders is to prevent the rebels from using motor transport for their operations, to ensure that travellers by car, etc. cannot travel legally unless they have permits, and to introduce some means of establishing identity. It is evident that the rebels feared these restrictions because, directly they heard of them, they instructed all Arabs to boycott the pass system. Their orders were generally obeyed during the period covered by this report. In the towns Arabs proceed from place to place in "gharries", on bicycles or on foot. In the country, merchandise is carried on camels, donkeys, horses and mules. Rumours have been freely circulated that Arabs with identity cards or passes have been shot dead. So far, however, the police have only reported one such occurrence.

30. From October 31st to November 3rd Jaffa was searched. This again was a large scale operation, in which the Royal Scots Greys, the Coldstream Guards, the Northumberland Fusiliers, and detachments of the Buffs and the Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire Regiments were engaged. A battery of the Royal Horse Artillery also co-operated. The operation was conducted in an efficient, quick and thorough fashion. Although Jaffa was a hot bed of terrorism, unequalled by any other town, little opposition was encountered. During the four days there were no British casualties. Six Arabs were wounded, two of whom have since died. A large number of Arabs were detained for interrogation, 60 of whom were kept in custody since they were 'wanted' persons. A few bombs and some ammunition were captured.

Just before the operation started, the rebel leader Aref Abdul Razzak had had notices posted in the town saying that he proposed to take reprisal action against British civilians. As it was quite possible that the warning was seriously intended, the District Commissioner advised Jaffa residents to move out during the searches and a number of them went to Tel Aviv and Sarona.

While Jaffa has not been free from incident during the days following the search, there has been some improvement.

31. The first nine days of November were marked on the Jewish side by a final solidarity drive. This took the form of a campaign in support of the 'Redemption Fund' (Kofer Hayishuv) to assist in the defence of outlying agricultural settlements and Jewry in general. On the 1st November all the Jewish shops, cinemas, cafés, etc. shut after 2.30 p.m. to enable the Jews to give their money and jewellery to the Fund. The amount collected during the day totalled LP.20,000 in cash and jewellery, etc., to the value of LP.16,000.

From the 5th November to the 7th exceptionally heavy rains broke, particularly on the coastal plain around Tel Aviv. Over three quarters of Tel Aviv's normal annual rainfall of 540 millimetres fell in those three days. No lives were lost from the floods and the police rendered valuable assistance in rescuing persons and property.

32. On the 1st November, in accordance with rebel instructions, the Arab shops in all the principal towns closed for three days. At the same time Arab traffic came to a standstill because the drivers did not dare to take out traffic passes.

Apart from this manifestation of rebel influence, however, the first nine days of November were fairly quiet. The main feature of the period was the intensive searches conducted by the Army throughout the country. On the 1st Haifa was searched and 75 persons were detained, while operations in Samaria resulted in the arrest of 43 men and the capture of some firearms. On the 2nd, the Royal West Yorks cordoned Mazraa esh Sharkiya near Jerusalem, and, encountering an armed band, killed 6 of them and wounded 4. A corporal was slightly wounded and about 100 villagers were detained. The Herod's Gate quarter of Jerusalem was also searched on that day.

On the 3rd further searches took place in Samaria. Two houses were demolished in Silal el Harithiya and a fine of LP.100 was imposed because the village had harboured rebels. Certain quarters of Nablus were also thoroughly combed. Fifteen Arabs were also detained during searches of villages in the neighbourhood of Jaffa.

33. On the 5th troops searched Halhul, south of Jerusalem, and detained 81 persons. A hundred arrests were made in a village in Samaria.

During the search of Bala (Samaria) on the 6th, which is the headquarters of the well known gang leader, Abdul Rahim el Haj Mohammad, shots were fired at the troops and aircraft, and one aeroplane made a forced landing. The pilot was slightly injured. In the same area on the 9th, Government forces encountered opposition when searching Irtah, inside which they surprised an armed band which opened fire on them. During the ensuing engagement, a Non-Commissioned Officer of the Royal Scots was killed, and a Non-Commissioned Officer and a private were wounded. The troops killed 19 armed rebels, recovering their bodies. Among the dead was one of the Samaria rebel leaders, Ibrahim Amouri. Three rifles, three mauser automatics and a quantity of ammunition were captured. Forty houses in the village were demolished as a punitive measure.

On the whole, therefore, these operations have been uniformly successful and serve to show the bands that it is now unwise to foregather in large numbers.

34. On the 1st November a Jewish bus was sniped near Rehovet and the driver and one passenger were wounded. Two other Jews were slightly wounded when the Lydda - Jaffa train was fired at. On the 2nd the driver and three passengers in a Jewish truck were injured, the former fatally, when their vehicle struck a land mine north of Tel-Aviv. A Jewish guard, who pluckily engaged a band of four armed men and killed one of them, was fatally wounded north of Acre.

On the 4th a posts and telegraphs employee was killed in Haifa and two soliiers were injured when a bomb was thrown at their billet in Haifa. That night a Jewess in a settlement was killed.

On the 6th an Arab was found shot dead near Lydda, and a Jew was wounded when traffic travelling along the Jerusalem-Jaffa road was sniped.

On the 7th armed men entered the Government hospital at Gaza and killed an Arab patient and his mother who was visiting him at the time. This double murder was non political, but is mentioned as showing how the disturbed times have resulted in the breakdown of all normal restraints and a return to the blood feud method of settling differences.

On the 9th an Arab was seriously wounded on the Jaffa/Tel Aviv border.

Apart from these incidents, Jewish traffic in the neighbourhood of Jaffa was fairly often sniped. The Levant Bonded warehouse in Haifa was burnt down, the estimated damage being in the neighbourhood of LP.60,000. A Haifa Post Office robbery yielded over LP.1,500. As regards the last mentioned incident, it seems almost certain that there must have been collusion for the two armed men concerned chose the only time in the day when a Jewish clerk was alone on duty for about an hour and stole only three registered packets, two of which contained gold bars of the value stated.

35. Summarizing the situation as at the eve of the Partition Commission's Report, the following facts are worthy of attention:-

(a) Terrorism of Arabs reached a new peak, but this fact may ultimately militate against the rebellion. The crux of the immediate situation is the trial of strength between Government and the gangs over the question of traffic passes. It appears that the Arab population must sooner or later decide whether to face ruin and starvation owing to their inability to move about to sell their produce, or a problematical death at the hands of the rebels if they flout their instructions.

(b) There was some lull in the activities of the armed bands, whose leaders seem to be beginning to prefer the pen to the sword. The reason for this is primarily because they know that they cannot succeed in open battle with the troops, and because the approach of the citrus season and the period of greatest agricultural activity have led to some defections in their ranks.

(c) As regards the leadership of the gangs, it is reported that Aref Abdul Razzak and Abdul Rahim el Haj Mohammad have temporarily composed their quarrel for supremacy by agreeing to be joint commanders-in-chief. They are principally intent on ousting Fakhri Abdul Hadi from their midst. The recent enrolment of persons among the effendi class in the rebel ranks to act as secretaries to the local leaders and to organize their "court work" has meant that the Mufti and the Arab higher command in Damascus can exercise a greater control over the rebellion than was possible in September.

(d) The economic position of the Jews improved during the period under review. The abstention of the Arabs from travelling on the roads, the frequent Arab shop strikes, the enrolment of additional Jewish police,

the contracts given to Jews by the Army to meet their many requirements, the beginning of the citrus season - all these factors have given an impetus to Jewish activity and have helped to liquidate Jewish unemployment.

(e) While the country is more under control than it was a month ago, ordinary administration is still non existent. Taxes are not being collected in the rural areas, the country around and south of Beersheba is still in rebel hands and, although the roads are more or less under the control of Government by day, they and the surrounding countryside are unsafe by night to all law abiding citizens.

(f) Finally, and particularly in view of the facts mentioned at (a) and (b) above, the relations between the Government and the Arabs may have slightly improved. According to the District Commissioner, Southern District "the glamour of the rebellion and of the tales of successful raids and ambushes has long since worn off and the people must face the strain of enduring hunger and inactivity. In spite of all that has occurred, there is still no outward display of resentment or hostility to administrative officers in the villages". When the Assistant District Commissioner, Ramle, recently visited villages in his area "where there has been no civil administration for six months, there were signs that the people, after initial nervousness, appreciated the opportunity of a friendly talk".

I have, &c.,

HAROLD MACMICHAEL

High Commissioner for Palestine.

Enclosure 2 in No. 11

Attachment to Headquarters D.I.S. No: 76/38

ARMY OPERATIONS IN THE HOLY CITY

1. The troops and armed Jews continued shooting with rifles and machine-guns from the Synagogue and Old City Police Station, Museum and Mount of Olives upon the Aqsa Mosque and Rock of Omar, and the minarets and some adjacent houses, causing serious damages to the Mosques, minarets and houses; traces of these damages may be seen up to this date.

2. Government and Army prevented Moslems to pray at the Mosque of El Aqsa and for the first time in history there was no Friday Prayer. The Government announced from the Broadcasting Station that 30 Moslems were allowed to pray but this is false, in fact no prayer was held and not a single Moslem entered the Mosque. As the gate of the Haram was closed and barred from outside with blocks of wood by the troops.

3. The troops and Government confined 70 Moslem orphans who sleep in Kayethai in the Haram area. They prevented anyone to go to them or bring them food for 30 hours which they spent in hunger and thirst until Major Harrington came to search the Moslem Orphanage. The teachers asked him to save the youngsters from death. He rescued them and deserved our thanks.

4. The troops found a Moslem asleep in the Mosque of the Red Minaret. They fired at him 16 shots leaving him a dead corpse.

5. A soldier shot dead the Martyr Aref Kamal inside his house at Damascus Gate whilst the man was praying. Blood-stains may still be seen on the wall.

6. The troops fired at the peaceful inhabitants killing 20 persons among them children and women and the wife of Hafez Nseibeh who was pregnant.

7. The troops and Police opened all Moslem shops and stole money, cigarettes, candy boxes and distributed part thereof among some Christians, the rest of the goods they destroyed.

8. The troops and constables stole money and jewelry from various houses. From the house of Sheikh Yihia Hidayeh and his brother Khalil they stole about LP. 200. From a house of a Moslem woman in Bab Hutta they took two golden bracelets and two golden LP. 5 pieces. From a third house they stole 100 mils and two golden bracelets. From the Moslem girls school they took the Arab flags, a gramophone and first-aid stuff.

9. The troops burnt an Antique house belonging to the Wakf of Ansari. The Station in Jerusalem broadcast that the troops extinguished the fire. The proverb " She brought the plague and ran away" became true.

10. Some Jewish prostitutes and criminals were accompanying the troops and were insulting the Moslem women.

11. The troops used to take out the men from the houses and keep women and children inside whilst carrying out search operations. This is part of the many atrocities committed.

THE PERMANENT INTELLIGENCE BUREAU OF
THE ARAB REVOLT IN PALESTINE.

JERUSALEM.

No. 12

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

to

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Received 6th January, 1939.)

(SECRET)

Jerusalem, 29th December, 1938.

Sir,

In my last situation despatch of the 3rd December* I reported events up to the 9th November, the eve of the publication in Palestine of the Woodhead Report and His Majesty's Government's statement. I will now describe them during the ensuing five weeks up to the 15th December.

2. The reactions of Arabs and Jews to the statement and the report were conditioned in no small measure by their anticipations of them, as reported in my last despatch. As regards first impressions the Arab man in the street was preternaturally depressed, while the Jewish public were correspondingly elated. It was not until both sides examined the documents closely that they achieved a more balanced appreciation of their effect.

These balanced reactions may be summarized as follows. The Arabs

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* No. 11.

were glad that partition was abandoned and even suggested that this dénouement justified their revolt. They were also pleased that delegates from neighbouring Arab countries were to be invited to the London conference. But they were displeased that immigration and land sales would not be stopped immediately and that the Mufti was to be excluded from the discussions.

The Jews were astonished and dismayed by the Commission's plan C and, in the light of this conception of the Jewish State, were relieved that partition was definitely abandoned. They feared, however, that the arguments upon which was founded the proposal for so minute a Jewish state (described by the "Palestine Post" as a concentration camp), would be used against them in the forthcoming discussions. Accordingly they directed their efforts to pouring scorn on the report and the personnel of the Commission, whom they described as nonentities with no idea of the deeper spiritual significance of Zionism. It is their hope that the report will speedily be relegated to limbo. The Jews were naturally glad that their implacable enemy the Mufti was to be excluded from the conference.

Jewish criticisms were concentrated on two main points:-

(a) Politically astute as they are, they at once saw the danger of immigration being specifically mentioned as a subject for discussion. On this point the Jewish Agency retorted that it would discuss nothing except on the basis of the Mandate.

(b) They regard the Arab representation from neighbouring countries as an undesirable precedent, and they stated that the Jews in the Diaspora should also be represented, if only by way of make weight to this accretion of Arab strength. In particular they wished the United States of America to participate actively.

3. Apart from the genuine reactions of Arabs and Jews based on a true appreciation of the effect of His Majesty's Government's statement, a great deal of nonsense was talked about it. The picture was obscured from the start by false interpretations and false prophecies. In the first place the Jews, whether mistakenly or advisedly, purported to believe that a round table triangular conference would be called. Much ink was wasted on discussing the pros and cons of such a conference before it was discovered that it was not contemplated in that form, at all events in the beginning.

The Arab newspapers wilfully ignored the underlying meaning of the statement as regards Arab representation, which was of course to the effect that the Mufti's point of view would be considered though he himself was barred. The Arabic press raised a clamour in favour of Haj Amin from the start. Staring headlines announced that "His Eminence is our only leader"; and a Jerusalem paper, edited by a man who has lately emerged from a detention camp, had as its slogan below the title in each issue "one people, one country, one leader". In actual fact it seems conceivable that Haj Amin will ultimately find himself in the happy position of being able to repudiate any parts of such agreement as may be reached which do not satisfy his demands while getting kudos out of such favourable terms as his henchmen may be able to secure.

Unofficial British elements have to some extent obscured the issue and assisted in creating an atmosphere of despondency, particularly at first when they decried the statement as achieving nothing. It was only on more mature consideration that they realized that the mountains had brought forth something more than a mouse.

4. Such were the first reactions. But the Arabs felt happier after your speech in the House of Commons on November 24th. The general impression was that His Majesty's Government now had a more balanced

picture of the situation in Palestine than before: they were particularly pleased with the expression "if I were an Arab, I would be alarmed" concerning the rate of Jewish immigration, and the remark that many in the Palestine Arab movement are moved by a genuine patriotism and have felt compelled to take the risk of laying down their lives for their country. Naturally the Jews did not welcome these passages, but they were glad that their part in the building of modern Palestine had been recognized. The practical effect of the speech cannot be gauged as yet, but it has probably sown seed which may ultimately bear fruit. Nevertheless it is regrettably the fact that the Arab and the Jew are from past experience inclined towards the philosophy expressed in the tag "timeo Danaos et dona ferentes"; and this is an attitude which means that extremists are more likely to appeal to the public than moderates. It is creditable to the Jews that they have somewhat curbed the tendency; but for all that, the political démarche of October-November and recent events in Palestine have had the effect of drawing the programmes of Revisionists and Zionists nearer together. Before these events the Revisionists, for instance, denounced partition and demanded the arming of the Jews in defence of their part of the country, while the Zionists accepted the Peel plan and thought that Jewish armament could wait. With the abandonment of partition and the strengthening of the Jewish additional police force, differences of policy are momentarily in abeyance; but in some respects His Majesty's Government has to face extremism in Jewry as fully developed as it is among the Arabs. At such a time no pronouncement showing a full appreciation of the Palestine problem in all its aspects will be treated with that spirit of confidence which it deserves.

5. During the latter part of November two other topics captured the public attention. The first was the re-emergence of the National Defence Party in the person of Fakhri Nashashibi. Fakhri stated in a message to the press that the Mufti was responsible for the disturbances, that 70% of the Arabs were against him and that this large though inarticulate public fervently desired the end of the rebellion. On the political side, however, it should be noted that Fakhri's programme was almost identical with that of Haj Amin: it included the stoppage of immigration and land sales and the eventual setting up of an Arab state. It was merely in the means to that end that it differed from the Husseini platform.

The Arab press did not publish this manifesto. All the Arabic papers are at present on the Mufti's side, 'Al Lahab' by choice and 'Falastin' and 'Ad Difa'a' by compulsion. They published instead pages of denunciation of Fakhri. They alleged that he had been bribed by the Jews to take the step, libelled his character and took the line that the manifesto had merely enabled them to prove that the whole country was behind Haj Amin. They were able to print in proof of this latter contention a letter from Ragheb Bey Nashashibi, the head of the National Defence Party and now in self-imposed exile in Egypt, dissociating himself from the sentiments of his cousin and former lieutenant. The motives underlying this disclaimer may not be far to seek; it is said that Ragheb Bey dare not venture upon his verandah, even in Cairo, for fear of a bullet. At the same time, few outside the Hebrew Press take Fakhri's fulminations very seriously and the unbiassed observer sees in them merely a variation on the old theme of Husseini - Nashashibi rivalry. Fakhri is staking a claim for his party to be represented at the discussions and taking advantage for this purpose of the well known desire of many of the fellaheen to discard the gun for the plough. His past history, his programme and his mediocre talents debar him from filling the rôle of 'honest broker' at the discussions. He is not a big enough man for that. The Jews must really know this too, but apart from a natural inclination to welcome any apparent protagonist of law and order they no doubt feel that there is capital to be made out of anything tending to discredit the Arab appearance of unanimity.

6. The second topic was, of course, the persecution of the Jews in Central Europe. Although it may savour of heartlessness to say it in the face of evidence of the appalling sufferings of Jewry in Germany, the outburst of savagery has come at an opportune time for Zionism, for it focusses the attention of the World on the plight of the Jews just when they need the World's sympathy most. With all their genuine and disinterested feelings of sympathy, pity and love for their brethren in Germany - feelings which have led the Palestinian Jews to send upwards of LP. 200,000 to these unfortunates - they have not unnaturally used the opportunity to the full to state the case for a continuance and an enlargement of immigration. With characteristic acumen they have realized that the claims of the children will have a peculiarly moving effect on the English mind: they have therefore concentrated on efforts to obtain permission for 5000 young persons to enter Palestine immediately, and for 5000 more to follow shortly. A drive among the Jews of Palestine has met with an instantaneous response. Families in the towns and settlements alike have hastened to show their willingness to adopt a German-Jewish child, and the more important people have given a lead in the matter. Dr. Weizmann's mother, for example, announced that she was ready to adopt three children. The Jews have been encouraged in this campaign by realization that the British public has been deeply stirred at the disgusting events in Germany.

As regards the local reaction, we in Palestine can hardly hear unmoved the lies which are broadcasted daily from Deutchlandsender, Berlin, about this country, which slander the troops and twist every act into a savage reprisal upon the innocent and defenceless Arabs. Typical of this species of propaganda was the statement that it was the Government's policy to starve the villagers into submission and that 90% of them were actually on the verge of famine. This report was derived from an order signed by the Military Commander of the Southern District to the effect that he would not issue traffic passes to Arab drivers of citrus transport unless a proportionate number of drivers of other classes of vehicles also applied for permits. The reason was that the rebels had issued instructions that citrus transport might use the roads but no other transport should. Obviously it was not for the rebels to dictate policy to Government.

7. Your statement in Parliament that the deported Arabs in the Seychelles would be removed from there had a good effect on moderate Arab opinion. It is interesting, however, to note that even about this the Arab press refrained from comment. They awaited orders from Beirut before doing so.

Shortly after that pronouncement came your statement that the German-Jewish children could not be admitted at present, and this was preceded by the debate in the House of Lords. The Jews saw in the expressions of yourself and Lord Dufferin the germ of grave alarm, being signs that His Majesty's Government had beaten a retreat in the face of Arab demands before the discussions had begun. One Hebrew daily stated that it was obvious that a Munich Conference was being prepared in London, by which it meant to imply that idealism was to be sacrificed to "realpolitik". A movement was at once initiated to urge the Jewish Agency to retract its decision to co-operate in the discussions. Various fictitious reasons were given to justify this volte face, including the prospective presence of representatives of neighbouring Arab countries at the negotiations. The Palestine Post, in which the Jewish Agency has a considerable pecuniary interest, also carried articles of this kind. Nor is this political course out of harmony with the apparent general trend of the Zionist executive at this time: a relatively minor example of the same kind of thing occurred in November when, contrary to previous arrangement between Government and the Agency, three settlements were founded in Galilee without prior sanction and one of them still masquerades under the palpable disguise of a labour camp.

A notably conciliatory statement by Dr. Weizmann was published in the Hebrew 'Davar' on the 14th December to counteract this trend, but the other dailies continued on a contrary course.

Apart from the above, which may be regarded as a political manoeuvre rather than a serious and obstinate conviction that the Jews should not take part in the London conference, Hebrew public opinion was particularly incensed at Lord Samuel's speech in the House of Lords. They were disturbed that Lord Samuel should seek to demonstrate that Zionism since its inception had failed to make allowance for Arab claims and enraged at his suggestion that the Jews must acquiesce in being a minority in Palestine. They reserved their shafts of satire, however, rather to disproving Lord Samuel's contention that he had acted rightly when he appointed Haj Amin Husseini as Mufti: they sought to show that he was unworthily actuated by wounded amour propre rather than reality, and they quoted the opinions of several Commissions to support the thesis.

8. The period witnessed a further decline in the activities and influence of the rebels. The continual searches have deprived them of the offensive and the leaders are now hunted rather than hunting. This has had its effect on the flow of quick and accurate information, which was formerly so seriously lacking. As the result of intelligence received from Arab sources, Abu Durreh, the chief rebel leader in the Haifa area, barely escaped with his life from the action on November 28th at Umm az Zinat; while the southern leader, Mansour, was fortunate to be no worse than wounded in an engagement on the 1st December near Hebron. Abdul Rahim El Haj Mohammad, one of the "generalissimos", evaded the air cordon which was established round a village near Nablus on the 1st-3rd December, but some valuable documents were secured showing who all his personal bodyguard were. In this connection it is interesting to find that even a man of Abdul Rahim's rank only has a professional gang of some 40 to 50 persons. The rest of his "army" consists of villagers recruited for a particular occasion. It appears that it would not be an underestimate to say that there are at the outside no more than 2,000 professional rebels actively in the field in Palestine at present and, it is not certain that even this number is adequately and effectively armed. During the last month about 100 rifles, 30 shot guns and 40 pistols have been captured. Approximately 6,000 rounds of ammunition have also been seized. An analysis of recent captures seems to show that rifle ammunition is becoming scarce and the gangs are having to rely more on pistols, while their supplies of S.A.A. seem to come almost exclusively from Iraq. This fact, coupled with the present scarcity of German rifles, would appear to discredit the common assertion that arms and ammunition in any quantity are being supplied to the rebels by Germany.

9. Notwithstanding the notable successes which the Army is achieving in the field, terrorism in the towns still continues with distressing frequency. While this is so, there is bound to be a strong feeling of insecurity. Jerusalem has largely been spared murders and attempts, but such incidents have been frequent in Jaffa and to a growing extent in Haifa. The casualty figures for the month show noticeably that the victims of these crimes are now predominantly Arabs, who are suspected of treason or lukewarm attachment to the national cause. It is also clear that people are still taking the opportunity afforded by the times to pay off old scores and redress old wrongs. In short, the crust of the rebellion has been broken at its weakest points, but so far it would be unwise to be more optimistic than that.

10. In my last despatch, I reported that a system of identity cards and traffic passes had been instituted and that the Arabs had boycotted those measures. The boycott continued, though decreasingly, during the period now under review, but its effect on the life of the people did not produce the hardships which were anticipated. The District Commissioner of the Southern District, for instance, states that the

villagers have enough produce stored to last them through the winter. The Jerusalem District Commissioner says that, while there is suffering in some villages, the peasantry as a whole have adapted themselves to the times. Commodities are brought to market now on the heads of the women, on asses or on camels. A change of this kind is not difficult for the Palestinian Arab; it merely means that the clock is put back twenty years. There has been a slight rise in the cost of living.

As regards the citrus industry, the season has so far been better than last. Up to the end of November over a million cases were exported, as compared with 925,000 in the corresponding period of 1937. The relevant export figures from the beginning of the season until December 14th were: 1937, 2,502,000 cases; 1938, 2,717,000 cases. The prices offered for the crop compared favourably with those current at the beginning of last season. About 140,000 more cases were sent from Jaffa up to the 14th December than were exported up to that date in 1937. This may be attributed in part to the speculation of a Mr. Ternan, who was advancing up to 5/6d and 6/- a box on citrus, while the market price for such advances is not more than 3/9d. In part, also, this show of modest prosperity in Jaffa has been made possible by the drivers of citrus transport vehicles taking out traffic passes and identity cards.

The liquidation of Jewish unemployment, foreshadowed in my last despatch, has continued. Apart from work on the citrus industry and on army contracts, there has been an increase of activity in Tel Aviv and Haifa. The output of citrus from Tel Aviv port has increased threefold since last year and the Municipality was engaged in various public works including sea front improvements, the extension of the municipal hospital and the construction of a central market. In Haifa, the Jewish unemployed are engaged on port works and on the construction of the new refinery plant. The restrictions on travel affected the Jews at first, but during November they took out 9,000 identity cards in Tel Aviv alone and 12,000 were issued to them in Jerusalem. They are now able to carry on their normal avocations under the new régime. Their melancholy history has made the Jews all too well acquainted with Government restrictions and they are accustomed to adapting themselves quickly to such impediments to normal trading.

11. Between the 8th November and the 12th December, there were the following casualties (excluding rebels in action):-

British troops and police	- 10 killed and 32 wounded
Jewish police	- 2 killed and 4 wounded
Arab police	- 2 killed and 3 wounded
Jewish civilians	- 16 killed and 21 wounded
Arab civilians	- 44 killed and 26 wounded

The total casualties were therefore 74 killed and 86 wounded. While this is better than the corresponding figures in my last despatch, it represents an average of 2 persons killed and 2-3 wounded every day during the 35 days about which figures are available. A rough estimate of rebel casualties during the period is 140 killed and over 100 wounded.

12. The period began with some successful military actions in Samaria, following the engagements at Irtah and Qalqilya reported in my last despatch. Information was received that four rebel leaders were meeting in Beit Furik on the 10th November and an air cordon was put round the village at dawn on that day. The object of this manoeuvre is to prevent any persons leaving the selected village until the ground forces are in position to establish their cordon and conduct searches. For this purpose one or more aircraft circle continually round the

objective, dropping leaflets to warn the inhabitants that they must remain within doors. A column of the 1st battalion the Green Howards was the ground force employed on this occasion. On entering the village the troops encountered an armed band and an action ensued. Meanwhile, aircraft located a party of about 50 armed men in an olive grove and engaged them. During this encounter a plane crashed and the pilot was seriously injured. Apart from this mishap, however, there were no casualties to Government forces. The number of rebels killed and wounded was about 35, including two leaders named Abu Abdulla and Abdullah Beiruti. Two rifles, a revolver and 890 rounds of S.A.A. were captured.

On the 13th, an operation of the same character was conducted in Jamain village on the receipt of intelligence that Aref Abdul Razzak's gang was there. The leader himself was not caught, but twelve members of one of his lieutenant's band were captured, as well as one of his personal messengers.

Galilee was on the whole quiet in November, but a search operation in Nazareth and the surrounding villages on the 14th November deserves mention since it had the effect of 'cleaning up' that town and the vicinity. Forty rebels and terrorists were captured.

On the 19th, another surprise raid was made by a detachment of the 1st battalion the Royal Scots on Attil village near Tulkarm. Information that a leader was there unfortunately arrived too late for decisive action. The troops, who on this occasion were not supported by aircraft, did not arrive at Attil till 4 p.m. when they were fired on from the village. A call was at once sent out for air assistance, but the Royal Air Force were unable to make contact owing to the approach of darkness. Two casualties were inflicted on the band before it retreated, but Government forces lost an R.A.S.C. driver killed and a captain of the Royal Scots slightly wounded.

An action at Asira esh Shamaliya (near Nablus) on the following day yielded better results. It was conducted by a party of 10 police under two assistant superintendents from Nablus. Acting on information that the mukhtar of this village had been ordered to produce a number of rifles for the rebels, the police went to Ash Shamaliya, arriving at 10 p.m. They surprised a meeting of rebels in a house. Three of them were killed, the mukhtar and two other rebels were wounded and 8 were captured.

On the 23rd, a detachment of the 2nd battalion the Leicestershire Regiment surprised another rebel meeting in Beit Iba. On this occasion one of the band was killed, two were wounded and 2 rifles and 62 rounds of ammunition were seized.

13. Meanwhile, similar operations were proceeding in other parts of the country. On the 13th and 14th November, the troops re-established control of Jericho. On the 17th, an action took place near Bethlehem which resulted in a diminution of rebel activity in that area afterwards. It began when a patrol of the 3rd battalion the Coldstream Guards was fired on at a road block constructed on the Al Khadr-Husun track, near the former village. That was at about dusk, and the Guards took up a defensive position near the road and withheld their fire. The gang gradually closed in after dark and eventually charged. The troops then opened fire with rifles and Bren guns from 40 yards range and appear to have inflicted heavy casualties, though only one wounded rebel was captured. In this action one Guardsman was killed and 6 were wounded.

On the 19th and 20th November, surprise searches were carried out in the old city of Jaffa and in Sakhnit Darwish. The troops were the Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire Regiment and other units of the 20th Reserve Infantry Brigade. The identities of nearly 1000 persons were checked and 20 wanted men were arrested. During the operations an Arab fired at the troops, who replied, fatally wounding him. On going to this

man's house, the police found a Mauser automatic, a loaded revolver and a number of documents showing that he was one of the professional assassins of Jaffa. Government forces suffered no casualties.

On the 21st November, a company of the 2nd battalion the Highland Light Infantry occupied Beersheba without encountering any opposition. Superficially, this might appear a minor affair, but it is to be expected that the occupation of Beersheba will have a far reaching effect on the sub district in which there had unavoidably been little or no sign of Government authority for close on two months. In a sense it marks the culmination of the re-occupation period: it remains to consolidate gains effected from the rebels. Battalion headquarters of the Worcestershire Regiment were moved from Bethlehem to Hebron at the end of November with a view to increasing pressure in the future on the gangs at this extremity of Palestine.

14. Such were the main military achievements during the period 10th to 23rd November, but it should also be understood that the activities of the troops were ceaseless and widespread throughout the country. Minor searches which deserve mention were those of Safad and Faradiya by the Royal Ulster Rifles on the 11th; and of Abu Dis near Jerusalem on the same day. Numerous minor actions and searches were carried out by the 2nd battalion the West Yorkshire Regiment in the neighbourhood of Ramallah. Dura near Hebron was searched on the 17th by the 1st battalion the Worcestershire Regiment, and Caesarea by the Royal Dragoons and the Royal West Kents on the 18th. Many other such operations might be cited. It is estimated that about one third of the 1,000 odd villages in Palestine have by now been searched.

15. In spite of these activities, however, terrorism in the towns and sabotage in the country continued. The worst town was Jaffa, which in spite of the search operations still maintains an unenviable reputation. This fact serves to underline what has been said above, and is exemplified in general terms by the casualty figures, that Arab terrorism has recently been directed in the main against Arabs rather than Jews. It is therefore only to be expected that assassination should be more common in the purely Arab town of Jaffa than in mixed towns like Jerusalem and Haifa. Jews, however, suffered from these attacks as will be shown by the incidents to be reported below.

On the 10th November an attempt was made in broad daylight on the life of a Jewish employee of the Post Office in the heart of Jaffa; the next day, also in the morning and in the centre of the town, two Arabs shot and seriously wounded a Jewish carter, slightly wounding his passenger. On the night of the 12/13th the body of an Arab was found in the town. On the 15th, at 1 p.m., a Jewish police constable travelling in a car was killed in the new town and on the 16th, the body of a Berber, who had been shot, was found near the entrance to Jaffa old city. On the 17th a Jew was shot and fatally wounded in the head on the outskirts of the German colony of Sarona and the following day armed men entered the office of a prominent Christian Arab orange merchant and seriously wounded one of his clerks. That day, the body of a Kurdish Arab was found on the sea shore. In Lydda, on the 18th one of the Municipal councillors, who was a member of the Defence Party, was killed and on the 19th, another councillor of the same political persuasion was murdered. These assassinations closely followed the issue of Fakhri Nashashibi's memorandum.

On the 20th the bodies of two Arabs who had been shot were found in separate quarters of Jaffa and that night a villager of Aqir, near Rehovot, was shot and fatally wounded. Two Jews walking on a track near Rehovot on the evening of the 22nd were ambushed and both were wounded, one seriously. On the 23rd an Arab inspector of police was shot dead, while bicycling near Lydda, but it is supposed that the motive for this crime was non-political.

16. Similar incidents were occurring during the same period in other parts of the country, but not with such frequency as in Jaffa and its environs. On the evening of the 10/11th November an explosion occurred in the house of an Arab of Majdal and the owner and four other persons were killed; it seems probable that they were manufacturing a bomb. On the 12th an Arab customs guard was shot dead, while walking in Haifa and the next day a Jewish carter was seriously wounded there. On the 14th, also in Haifa, an attempt was made on the life of a Christian Arab. The next day an Arab shot and seriously wounded a Jewish mechanic in the Jewish quarter of Haifa. On the morning of the 16th the bodies of two Arabs were found on a track near Nablus; that evening two Arabs were shot and wounded in the Haifa suq. On the 17th, two days after the issue of Fakhri Nashashibi's manifesto, a teacher in one of the Jerusalem schools named Sheikh Abd er Rahman el Khatib, was shot and fatally wounded while on his way to work. It is said that he was suspected of having a hand in the writing of Fakhri's memorandum. That evening in Tulkarm a bomb, which was probably being manufactured at the time, exploded in an Arab's house and the owner and another were killed. During the night a villager in Samaria was shot dead by an armed band. On the 19th the body of an Arab was found in a wadi near Tulkarm, and nearby was another wounded Arab who stated that he and his companion had been attacked by Jewish additional police. On the 20th in this area two armed men entered the law courts at Nablus and shot and wounded two officials of the Qalqilya Local Council, one of whom died later. It is supposed that the motive for this crime was that the victims were considered to be co-operating too much with the Government. The next day a sheikh, also of the Defence Party, was killed in the Nablus suq, while a Sephardic Jew was shot dead in Jerusalem near the Government printing press. Both these crimes were perpetrated in broad daylight. On the 22nd a Jew was murdered in the heart of Haifa, as was another Jew on the 23rd.

17. The next period from the 23rd November to the 3rd December was also marked by continual search operations by the troops and included an important action in the hills south of Haifa, when Abu Durreh's gang was routed. Another engagement of note on the 1st December occurred near Hebron. The most noteworthy military action of the 23rd to 25th November was a drive in the foot hills east of Acre undertaken by detachments of the 2nd battalion the Royal Irish Fusiliers, the 1st battalion the Hampshire Regiment and the 2nd battalion the Royal Ulster Rifles. The object of this operation was to reopen the Acre-Tarshiha road, which had been extensively damaged by sabotage at the end of October. A gang of about 20 was encountered near Yeska village and ten rebels were killed, while 6 rifles, 770 rounds of ammunition, a bomb and a pistol were seized. The gangsters were all in uniform. The Royal Air Force pursued the remainder and inflicted seven more casualties. On the whole the operation was successful, but the District Commissioner reports that much remains to be done to pacify that part of Palestine.

On the next two days, the 25th and 26th November, extensive search operations were undertaken by troops with aircraft co-operation in the area to the south west of Jerusalem. The objective was to clear this section of bands which had for some time been engaged in sabotage to the Jerusalem-Lydda railway and to enable the line, which has been closed for months, to be repaired and kept open. All villages in the neighbourhood were searched and a number of suspects were detained. The only Government casualty during these operations was a pilot officer of the Royal Air Force who was killed when his machine crashed. On the 29th the repairs to the line began and at present continue under the protection of detachments and patrols. It is estimated that the cost of repairing the damage done by sabotage to the permanent way and the stations on this section will amount to between L.P. 8000 and L.P. 10,000.

On the 28th occurred the action near Umm az Zinat (Haifa), to which reference has already been made. Acting on information that Abu Durreh's gang was in the vicinity of that village, troops of the 2nd battalion the Royal Irish Fusiliers and the 2nd battalion the Royal West Kent Regiment went out at dawn and searched the area. At 12.15 p.m. aircraft observed a large armed gang about 2½ miles north west of Umm az Zinat. The ground forces converged on the band and made contact at 3 p.m. The ensuing engagement, during which there was hand to hand fighting, continued till dusk. 43 of the rebels were killed, 21 bodies being recovered, while 3 soldiers of the Royal Irish Fusiliers were killed or died of wounds, and an officer and two soldiers of the Royal West Kent Regiment, a British police sergeant and a fusilier were wounded. Seventeen rifles, 3 pistols, 5 shotguns and nearly 500 rounds of ammunition were recovered from the rebels. Abu Durreh himself was reported to have been killed, but unfortunately it is likely that he was only wounded. It is of interest to record in connection with this action that the news of it was received with gratification in the Jebel Druze, because Abu Durreh had previously raided the Druze villages of Isfiya and Dalieh in the vicinity of the battle, killed three villagers and desecrated Druze places of worship.

On the 1st December an action which was nearly as successful took place near Hebron. On that day the police received information that the local rebel chief, Mansour, was at Taffuh with a large following. Detachments of the 2nd battalion the West Yorks, the 1st battalion the Worcestershire Regiment and the 2nd battalion the Black Watch were sent to the locality. They did not make contact with the main band, which was split up by air action into small parties; but these were engaged by the ground forces in a number of small actions. Seven rebels were killed and about 20 were wounded. Seven rifles and a quantity of ammunition was captured. Mansour himself escaped, but his uniform coat was found, in the pocket of which was a roll of film which on being developed proved to contain photographs of himself and his bodyguard standing in front of the Arab national flag, a Lewis gun stolen from Beersheba, and so on. On his coat were his insignia of office, which strangely enough consisted of a crest with the monogram "G.R."

On the 2nd December an incident occurred in Haifa which has given rise to considerable tension and to accusations of brutality in the German broadcasts. A military patrol was sniped from roofs near an Arab café and the troops replied, killing four Arabs and wounding six. Eleven others were injured in the ensuing scuffle. It is probable that several of those killed and wounded were not concerned in the shooting, but in the mêlée it was impossible to distinguish neutral from foe.

On the same day, the 2nd December, an action of some importance was fought near Beisan. It began in the morning after a mounted armed band had ambushed four Jewish labourers who were on their way from one settlement to another where they were to act as lookouts. Three of the Jews were killed and the fourth escaped by throwing himself into a pond. Trans-Jordan Frontier Force and police from Beisan quickly arrived on the scene and drove the rebels off, killing one armed man. The band retreated to the foot hills of Samaria between Jenin and Beisan. The military machine soon began working to plan and several units converged on the rebels from all points of the compass, with aircraft acting as observers and shock forces. From the north came a special night squad of troops and Jewish police stationed at the settlement of Ain Harod. From the south west came a detachment of the Green Howards, which had travelled up the road from Nablus. From the east and south east sabre troops of the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force converged on the band. The aircraft made contact first and inflicted heavy casualties on the rebels near Faqqua, driving the rest of the gang south towards the T.J.F.F. who finally dispersed them. Fifteen rebels were killed and 5 were taken prisoners. A number of arms were seized. The only casualty to Government forces was an Arab officer of the T.J.F.F., who was fatally wounded.

Finally, a highly successful search was conducted on the 2nd and 3rd December by the Leicestershire Regiment and the Green Howards in Tallouza, near Nablus. Aircraft co-operated. When the operation started the troops were fired on by a mounted gang and, replying, killed one rebel and wounded some others. The search resulted in the capture of 7 rifles, an automatic pistol, a shot gun, a grenade, over 1,000 rounds of ammunition and 24 horses, believed to have been stolen from the police.

18. Partly as the result of these activities, the last days of November were notably freer from terrorism and sabotage than any period for some time. There were, however, a few murders and attempts at murder. On the 25th November the body of an Arab who had been shot by the rebels was found near Jaffa in the vicinity of the Jerusalem-Jaffa road. An incident showing the trend of events occurred on that day. A gang entered an Arab village near Lake Huleh and demanded money which the villagers refused. They shot one of the recusants, but in doing so they also killed one of their fellow bandits whose body they carried off. On the evening of the 26th 4 armed men killed an Arab shopkeeper in his store in a Galilee village. The following afternoon an attempt was made on the life of a Jewish carter in a Jewish quarter of Haifa. On the 28th a bomb exploded in a Haifa street and ten Jews were injured, eight seriously. It is worthy of notice that on this occasion three Arabs were arrested, on eye witnesses' statements of their complicity in the crime. On the 29th, again in Haifa, an Arab was fatally wounded and an Arab police sergeant was wounded in Nablus. On the 30th the body of an Arab who had been shot dead by the rebels was found on a track south of Mount Carmel. An Arab butcher was wounded on the 2nd in the Jaffa suq, while the cousin of a mukhtar and the mukhtar of two villages south of Mount Carmel were killed during the night. It is believed that the reason for the murder of the two last mentioned was that they were suspected of giving the intelligence to Government which led to the route of Abu Durreh's gang at Umm az Zinat. On the same night armed men shot dead the mukhtar of a village near Nablus. On the 3rd December, an Arab was seriously wounded in Haifa and two villagers of Ajja near Jenin were killed.

19. The last period under review, from the 4th to the 15th December, was notable for a grave increase of terrorism in Haifa and a continuance of routine military searches without any engagement of particular note. The most noteworthy incident on the 4th was a land mine explosion under a railway trolley near Affule. The Arab driver and his assistant were injured, the assistant fatally. Two Arabs were also dangerously wounded in separate attacks in Jaffa. On the 5th the Jewish driver of a police car was killed and three other Jewish constables were seriously wounded near Petah Tiqva. They were walking along the road after their car had broken down when they were ambushed by a party of armed Arabs. A villager was also killed in Samaria.

The incidents in Haifa began on the 7th December when an Arab was dangerously wounded in a daylight attack. Eight suspects were arrested in connection with this crime. An attempt was also made on the life of an Arab employee of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. On the 8th a bomb, which failed to explode, was thrown into a garage owned by Jews in the town. An employee ran out when the alarm was given and a Jewish constable, mistaking him for one of the miscreants, shot and fatally wounded him. Later two Arab suspects were detained. On the 11th two Jews were killed, one in Kingsway and the other in Stanton Street both of which are thoroughfares in the heart of Haifa. A fine of L.P. 400 was imposed on the suq area, as a collective punishment

for these crimes. In spite of this action, however, three Jews were wounded on the 14th in two separate incidents. Another fine of L.P.200 was levied on an Arab quarter for these crimes.

Meanwhile there had been a few murders and attempts in other parts of the country. On the evening of the 7th December, a wounded Arab was found near the Hebrew University, Jerusalem; he stated that he had been attacked by Arabs near Bethany. On the evening of the 9th in the same vicinity the body of a German Jew, recently converted to Christianity, was found. He had been shot. The motive for the crime is unknown, but it evidently was not robbery since a gold watch and some money was found in the pocket of his coat. On the 11th an Arab was killed in Jaffa; and the next day two Jewish constables, who were guarding labourers at work in the fields near Beisan, were wounded when a gang attacked them. Trans-Jordan Frontier Force and aircraft were quickly on the scene, but failed to locate the band which retreated into Trans-Jordan. That night armed men forcibly entered the Government lunatic asylum in Bethlehem and killed a Jewish attendant. On the 13th a Jewish carter was dangerously wounded on the outskirts of Jaffa. On the 15th Sheikh Mahmoud el Ansari, who had hitherto had a charmed life having been wounded no less than three times, was assassinated in daylight in a street in the new Jerusalem. He was an antagonist of the Mufti against whom he had won a lawsuit some years ago.

20. The troops were not inactive during the period 4th to 15th December. There were no major actions, for the reason that almost all the large gangs had split up. All the big towns and notorious villages had been searched by this time, and the troops had to be content with combing caves and isolated homesteads and finding perhaps one rifle and a small quantity of ammunition. Discoveries of this kind are often matters of pure chance and no amount of assiduity will suffice if the luck is out. The bare reports of the results of a unit's operations during the day sometimes seem meagre for this reason and give no idea of the difficulties involved. In a village in the Ramallah area, for instance, a detachment of the West Yorkshires found about 80 rounds of ammunition one day. It was in a cache behind a stone in a wall which a private soldier kicked by chance. For three hours after this find two platoons burrowed in every wall in that vicinity but they found nothing more.

Two search operations on the 7th December deserve a mention. Troops of the 14th Infantry Brigade searched an area north east of Tulkarm on that day, captured 35 known rebels and surprised a rebel court in session, arresting the two judges, and seizing typewriters, telephone and a quantity of documents. They also recovered 3 rifles and 80 rounds of ammunition. Also on the 7th the Royal Scots Greys, the 3rd battalion the Coldstream Guards and the 1st battalion the Royal Northumberland Fusiliers searched Salameh village near Jaffa, capturing 3 sub leaders of rebel gangs. That evening three armed men were captured by another unit in a neighbouring village. Two of them have been tried, condemned and executed, the third was sentenced to imprisonment for life.

On the 8th another rebel court was surprised in a village near Jerusalem, and the search of Ein Ghazal near Haifa by the Royal West Kent Regiment resulted in the capture of 12 rebels or wanted persons. On the 10th 30 rebels were arrested during searches of three villages near Nablus. On the 12th detachments of the Leicestershire Regiment combed an area between Nablus and Qalqilya and found two typewriters, a roneo machine, stencils and stationery, a manual of field operations in Arabic, two revolvers, ten grenades and a number of saddle bags and uniforms. Three armed men were killed south of Lake Huleh on the 13th during the

search of two villages. On the 14th a patrol of the Green Howards was ambushed on the Nablus-Tulkarm road and a lance corporal was killed. Three other soldiers were wounded. The incident occurred at dusk and the troops did not make contact with the band.

21. It is apparent from this narrative of events that the activities of the armed bands declined during the period covered. Terrorism in the towns and villages still, however, continued. Traffic on the roads was liable to attack in spite of the constant patrols. People in consequence travelled as little as possible. There have been no successful attacks on Jewish settlements recently but they still present the appearance of armed camps.

22. In comparison with the miserable story of murder and brigandage in Palestine during more than two and a half years, this report need not close on a note of pessimism. In Haifa there was a state of tension among the Jews, but in the rest of the country there was a feeling not so much of tension as of resignation and expectancy. This feeling referred both to the local situation and to the future policy. As regards the first, there were signs that the strike of Arab transport and the boycott of identity cards was about to break at last and in fact it has broken since the close of the period to which this despatch relates. In Safad and Tiberias, for instance, Arab traffic has been on the roads since November 20th. In Jaffa, Arabs took out 700 identity cards in November, in Haifa 650 and in Jerusalem 300. Those numbers were greatly increased during the first fortnight of December.

As regards the political future, it appeared questionable whether the Palestinian Arabs or the Jews would participate in the conference, but appearance is probably misleading. It is still uncertain if there is really a substantial number of Arabs who dislike the Mufti and would actively support an opponent. The relations of the Arabs with the Government and their attitude towards it continued to render ordinary administration virtually impossible.

23. A few words on the press will suffice. In mid November nearly all the special correspondents left Palestine: it had ceased for the moment to be front page news. The local press has been more interested in politics than in the daily incidents. The Arabic Press, as already mentioned, devoted itself to attempting to prove that Haj Amin was the only leader and to pouring scorn on Fakhri Nashashibi's manifestos. One paper, "El Lahab", was suspended for a month.

The Hebrew Press has not presented any difficulty except towards the end of the period, when the papers began to urge that the Jewish Agency should not participate in the discussions. Up to the middle of December they had not overstepped the mark which might have earned them punitive action.

I have, &c.,

HAROLD MACMICHAEL,

High Commissioner for Palestine.

No. 13

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

to

THE GOVERNOR

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(Received 27th January, 1939.)

(SECRET)

Jerusalem, 16th January, 1939.

Sir,

In my last narrative despatch secret (A) of the 29th December, 1938*, I recorded events up to the 15th December. In this despatch the narrative will be continued up to the 31st December in order that the story for the year may be complete and self contained.

2. In the political field, the second fortnight of December witnessed no important change of front. The trend of opinion recorded in my last despatch continued: that is to say, the Jews reiterated that it had become useless to take part in the London discussions because the atmosphere in British official circles had become unfavourable to them; the Arabs were marking time in the hope of further concessions. Jewish resentment against Lord Samuel diminished and is now confined largely to the Revisionists; there is not yet a substantial body of opinion organized against Dr. Weizmann, but there have been rumours that he may be called upon to resign in favour of Mr. Brandeis, the American Jew who has just retired from the Supreme Court. These rumours need not as yet be taken seriously and until Dr. Weizmann's supremacy is challenged, Jewish policy will presumably be that of co-operation with Great Britain. It may be that the recent Jewish agitation in favour of non-participation in the discussions was really nothing more than a political manoeuvre.

3. The Arabs, who received the news of the release of the Seychelles deportees with gratification, saw to it that these gentlemen received maximum publicity on their journey northwards. At Aden and Suez they were met by enthusiastic deputations. It seemed not to be realized that the triumphal progress would end in their being refused admission to Beirut, although this fact was known by the knowledgeable as early as the 20th December. The newspapers still devote much space to glorification of the Mufti and denouncement of Fakhri Nashashibi.

4. Fakhri's most notable achievement during the period was a mass meeting at Yatta near Hebron on the 18th December. It was attended by the Military Commander of the Jerusalem District, the District Commissioner, staff officers, and some foreign and local Press correspondents. A large number of Arabs, estimated at anything up to 3,000, were present and their spokesman, a sheikh from Doura village, delivered an oration. He stated that the disorders were attributable to Haj Amin's malign influence and that 200 Arabs had been killed at his orders for no reason other than their opposition to the Husseini faction; that the Mufti's chosen henchman, Aref Abdul Razzak, was nothing but a hired assassin; and that the bulk of the Arab people were glad of the presence of the troops in Palestine since they hoped that security would thereby be restored. General O'Connor, replying, welcomed the notables, since the Army was glad of co-operation by all law abiding citizens; but he emphasized that the Army did not mix in politics.

It is difficult to gauge the significance of this gathering. The sheikh stated that he was speaking for 60,000 people but observers noted that the clapping and cheering were not very spontaneous while the speech was most improbably of his own composition. The safest

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* No. 12

thing to say is that it shewed that a section of the Arabs, long tired of the disorders, now feels sufficiently exasperated to voice an audible protest. Fakhri Nashashibi is exploiting these sentiments for his own ends, just as Haj Amin for his own purposes plays upon the militant resentment of the other section of Arab opinion towards immigration and the National Home. The artificial clapping at Yatta is neither more nor less significant than the parrot like encomiums of the Mufti in the Arabic Press.

5. Fakhri's démarche of course provoked bitter comment and reprisals. Pamphlets called "a voice from the tombs of Palestine" describing the murders of Arabs by Arabs, which were distributed by him in Jerusalem, were often torn up and thrown in the faces of the distributors. A demonstration which he was intending to organize in Jaffa on the 23rd December would have led to street fighting and a curfew was imposed to prevent it. Consequently the demonstration never materialized.

On the nights of the 23rd, 25th and 27th, bombs were thrown and shots fired at the house of Fakhri Nashashibi's cousin, Diab, in Jerusalem, but no damage was done or injury caused. On the 26th property of the Nashashibi family near the Mount of Olives was burnt by incendiaries. On Christmas Eve a twelve year old member of the family was shot and slightly wounded in the old city of Jerusalem.

6. In connection with Fakhri's campaign, the fear is expressed in Arab circles that he will follow precept and conduct his propaganda by the gun as well as by means of pamphlets and demonstrations. The Syrian Press has recently professed to be much concerned with this possibility and the Egyptian papers have also pointed out the danger of the rebellion developing into a civil war among the Arabs. So far as is known here, the Nashashibi party has not as yet been responsible for any assassination, but Fakhri has had a gang in the hills which incidentally got soundly thrashed by the "professional" rebels.

7. In spite of opposition and abuse, however, Fakhri is holding his ground and it is not impossible that he may ultimately gain his objective, namely the representation of his faction at the London conference. He is said to be planning a gathering of the Yatta kind near Safad, probably north of Lake Huleh where the Arabs have been co-operating with Government more than in other areas. His campaign has also emboldened certain prominent members of the Defence Party, now in self imposed exile, to think of returning to Palestine. Among these are Suleiman Bey Tuqan, the Mayor of Nablus, and Ahmad Shak'aa, the Nabulsi soap manufacturer. Another of the Party's supporters, Haj Adel esh Shawa, has actually come back to Gaza already. Dissident Arabs from the Abu Ghosh area have also come forward to denounce the continuance of disorders. Proclamations, purporting to be from the rebels but written by another hand, have made their appearance. These documents, couched in similar strain to those emanating from the rebels themselves, subtly undermine the validity of the true rebel orders. The rebels are extremely exercised at these portents: an amusing sidelight on them is that Mr. le Bouvier, when a rebel captive, was constrained to express his disapproval of Fakhri and noticed that his captors always expectorated when that name was mentioned. The Arabic Press, which did not at first take any notice of the Yatta gathering, later devoted space to articles protesting against the authorities for countenancing the meeting by attending it. They went on to say that such theatrical demonstrations of loyalty were the sort of thing which the totalitarian states sponsored and were not worthy of Great Britain.

8. The Arab traffic strike, which showed signs of crumbling when my last despatch was written, broke on the 16th December. At the same time Arabs began to apply for identity cards and traffic permits. One of the reasons why the gang leaders prohibited the Arabs at first from taking out these passes and cards was that they thought that they were a sort of

badge of loyalty to the Government. That they did not revoke the original order for a time after they had discovered their mistake was due to fear of losing face. In this respect, as in others recently, the rebels overstepped the limits of Arab patience. An attempt to force all Arab Government officials to resign, for instance, met with no success whatever; in fact, shortly after this was proposed and the "order" signed, the Arabic Press was conducting a campaign to show up the wickedness of Government in contemplating - as rumour had it - a retrenchment of officials for reasons of economy. Of course any stick is good enough with which to beat the Government. An instruction, signed by the five chief gang leaders, imposing taxes on the residents of Jerusalem, Jaffa and Ramle seems unlikely to be obeyed. The citizens of Ramle have definitely declined to pay their contribution of LP.18,000, and those of Jaffa and Jerusalem, who are expected to produce LP.40,000 and LP.30,000 respectively, also show reluctance to disburse these sums immediately. They are playing for time in the hope that the situation will improve.

There was genuine rejoicing at the ending of the traffic strike. The first journey of the No. 4 Jerusalem bus, which serves the Qatamon suburb where many Christian Arabs and well to do Moslems live as well as British residents, was a triumphal procession. It was greeted with cheers by the Arabs along the street and every seat was taken.

A further step towards normality was the opening of the Jerusalem-Lydda section of the railway on the last day of the year, after one month had been occupied in repairing the line and stations which had been extensively damaged by sabotage.

9. Notwithstanding these signs of improvement, there has been a distressing increase of assassinations in the towns. This may be attributed to two causes:-

(a) The troops have attained the ascendancy in the country and driven the bands out of the hills.

(b) The colder weather makes it pleasanter for the rebels to concentrate their attention on keeping the disturbances going by urban crime.

As has been said before, the revolt is conducted in two ways: by guerilla warfare in the hills and by murder and arson in the towns. Every important rebel leader has his cell of assassins, who operate in the cities, as well as his band in the country. Defeated by the troops in the hills, he instructs his sub-leader in, say, Jerusalem to continue the fight and redouble the efforts. Terrorism of this kind is, of course, much harder to deal with than open warfare; it is also a police, rather than a military duty, to fight it.

10. After this introduction, the events during the period 16th to 31st December, 1938, will be described.

On the 16th December a land mine exploded under a military lorry travelling on a track near Tulkarm; a lance-corporal of the Royal Scots was killed and five soldiers of the same regiment were wounded. That night a large armed band attacked the Jewish police who went out when they heard that twenty dunums of orange trees had been destroyed on the Ramle-Rehovot border. One of the constables was killed, but the others beat off the attack. The next morning police investigating the scene of the engagement captured an Arab in possession of a loaded revolver.

On the 17th a Jew was slightly wounded during an attack on a settlement near Beisan. The Trans-Jordan Frontier Force arrived and made contact with the attackers, inflicting casualties before the gang retreated into Trans-Jordan. During these two days the troops searched an area south of Hebron, a village near Acre, a village west of Samakh where three armed rebels were captured and another was killed, and four villages in Samaria; but there was no major encounter.

On the 18th, however, information was received during the Yatta meeting that an armed band was in Bani Naim which is about ten kilometres north of Yatta. The meeting was adjourned and aircraft followed by troops of the Worcestershire Regiment proceeded to the scene. At 1 p.m. the band was located and continuously engaged by aircraft till dusk. Thirty of the rebels were killed and fifteen were captured, while 11 rifles, 3 pistols, 1 Lewis gun magazine, 3 grenades, 2,100 rounds of ammunition, clothing, equipment and a number of important documents were seized. Casualties to Government forces were a private of the Worcestershire Regiment seriously wounded, and a pilot officer of the R.A.F. slightly wounded by a stray bullet. It was freely stated at the time that this gang was preparing to break up the Yatta conference when they were surprised, but a glance at the map adequately disposes of this theory.

11. On the same day in Jerusalem the preacher of the El Aqsa mosque, Sheikh Said el Khatib, was murdered in the old city of Jerusalem. At one time he had been a confidant of the Mufti's and many Arabs believed that the crime was a Nashashibi reprisal. This theory, however, is not supported by evidence and other equally valid reasons for the assassination can be given. Sheikh Khatib was a venal and unscrupulous man who used his office to extort money or services and was once a police informer. He had many non-political enemies.

Also on the 18th a Jewish passenger in a bus was killed when the vehicle was ambushed north of Hadera on the coastal road. Police dogs followed scent from the scene of the attack to an Arab village where they marked four houses which were demolished. On the 19th a Jewish engineer employed by the Army on sewage works near Sarafand was killed while on inspection duty; his body was savagely mauled by his assailants. The body of a Jew was found on the 20th near Zichron Ya'cov. As the result of this crime, the troops searched four neighbouring Arab villages and detained a number of persons among whom were the two presidents, five members, a clerk and a messenger of a rebel "court". Other military activities on the 18th to 20th December included an encounter in Samaria in which one rebel was killed and two were wounded; the search of a grove near Gaza where two absconded murderers were found, one of whom was shot dead evading arrest; and an encounter at Bu'eina near Tiberias in which ten rebels were killed and a private of the South Staffordshire Regiment was slightly wounded. On the 19th the body of an Arab, who had been killed by the rebels, was found on the Acre-Ras en Naqura road. On the 20th, two Arab constables on duty in Haifa were fired at and one was killed and another wounded and the next morning an Arab woman was shot dead in that town. On the 22nd an Arab was shot and fatally wounded in Acre, and on the 23rd an Egyptian and a Jew were wounded in two separate attacks in Haifa, and a Christian Arab was murdered in Nazareth. In all cases the assailants escaped.

The chief military operations during the period 21st to 23rd December were searches of villages in Samaria and the engagement of a small gang near Ramallah. A British constable was slightly wounded when a police tender was sniped on the Nablus-Tulkarm road on the 23rd.

12. Assassinations and attempts began in Jerusalem on the 23rd December with the attacks on the Nashashibi family already mentioned; but apart from those there were other incidents. On the 23rd an attempt was made on the life of a Jew on the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road, but he was not hit. On Christmas Day, an Arab police corporal was murdered in the old city and on Boxing Day a Jewish carpenter employed by the Public Works Department was killed near the Damascus Gate and another Jew was wounded in the old city. On the 27th two Jews were wounded in two separate attacks in different parts of the new city. One of them died of his wounds. On the morning of the 29th a Jew was wounded near the Jaffa Gate and the next day, at the same time and place, a Jewish compositor in the Government printing press was killed. As the result of those crimes, the Military Commander of the Jerusalem district issued an order on the 29th December that as from the

evening of the 31st the permits of all Arab taxi drivers would be withdrawn, particularly since it was known that shots fired at two R.A.F. aircraftsmen, who were walking in Jerusalem on the evening of the 27th, had come from a taxi. On the 31st another notice announced that when the Ramadan gun was fired three times an automatic 24-hours curfew would be placed on certain quarters of the old city of Jerusalem. This measure will accelerate and facilitate action after the perpetration of a crime.

Meanwhile incidents of a similar kind continued to be reported from other parts of the country. Armed men on the night of the 23rd went to the house of an Arab in a Galilee village and demanded permission to leave some boxes of ammunition with him. When he refused, they threw three bombs into the house wounding him, his wife and his mother-in-law. A similar incident occurred on the 24th when an armed gang went to a village in Samaria and demanded LP. 100, killing one of the villagers and wounding two others when they refused.

On Christmas Day a number of Arabs assaulted two Jews on Mount Carmel and one of them was seriously injured. Eight Arabs were arrested. On the same day, in Haifa, a Jewish stationer was shot and wounded, a Jewish doctor was wounded in Nazareth and a member of the well known Jarrallah family was killed in Jericho. The reason for this crime has been attributed, rightly or wrongly, to Yassin Jarrallah's connections with the Amir Abdullah. On Boxing Day, apart from the abduction of Mr. le Bouvier, the chief incident outside Jerusalem was the sniping of a convoy of Jewish buses on the outskirts of Jaffa. The attackers missed the buses but hit an armoured car which was escorting them, and a British constable, a R.A.S.C. corporal and two Jewish constables were wounded, the last seriously. On the 27th a Jewish ghaffir, who was on watch in the fields of a settlement in the Emek, was attacked by two Arabs armed with daggers. They stabbed him in the head and took his rifle. An Arab police constable was shot and mortally wounded in Jaffa on the 29th, and on the 30th Rafi' Bey Fahoum was killed in Nazareth. Rafi' Bey, who had at one time been a member of the General Agricultural Council, was a rich landowner living at Endor near Mount Tabor and an independent in politics. His house was demolished in 1936 as a result of his connection with the revolt, which episode is mentioned in Miss Newton's pamphlet "A searchlight on Palestine".* In spite of this, however, his relations with the administration were fairly cordial of late and he was believed to be an influential person who might stray from the Mufti's party line.

On the 31st December an Arab killed a fellow Arab's 8 year old son and wounded his mother in a village near Jenin as the result of a quarrel, and the body of an Arab who had been shot by the rebels was found in Jaffa.

13. During the last week of December the troops were not inactive, but there were no major encounters. Searches continued in Judaean hills and in the vicinity of Gaza, and on the 27th a patrol of the Leicestershire Regiment was ambushed on a track north east of Nablus, four privates being wounded. Minor engagements in Samaria on the 29th and 30th resulted in the killing of four rebels and the wounding of two, while an Arab woman who came into the line of fire in an action near Jenin was accidentally wounded.

On the last day of the year a party consisting of Sir Charles Tegart, Mr. G. D. Sanderson, district superintendent of police and staff officer to the Inspector-General, and Major Brunskill of the General Staff were returning from Haifa to Jerusalem under an escort of two armoured police cars. One of the armoured cars developed minor engine trouble, with the

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* See No. 75156/58/38 [No. 31]

result that the convoy was delayed and it was already dusk when it reached the notorious Wadi Haramiya, about 30 kilometres from Jerusalem. There they found a road block, which had been partially erected by a party of armed men believed to be engaged in sabotage of telephone lines. The constables in the armoured cars dismounted to remove the block. Heavy firing was directed at the convoy from close range and Mr. Sanderson was instantly killed. Several shots penetrated the vehicle in which Sir Charles Tegart was travelling, but he and the other escaped unharmed. The party energetically engaged their attackers with Lewis guns and pistols, but in the gloom it was impossible to say whether casualties had been inflicted. Eventually they succeeded in fighting their way through to safety, taking Mr. Sanderson's body with them.

Mr. Sanderson had been in Palestine for less than two months. His loss is deeply regretted.

14. The most sensational crime during the period under review was the abduction of Mr. le Bouvier, the regional manager of the Ottoman Bank, on Boxing Day. This has already been separately reported to you in detail and I do not propose to describe it again here.

15. A feeling of uncertainty pervaded public opinion in Palestine at the end of 1938, the worst year in the history of the country since the war. The troops have gained the upper hand in the field but are confronted with a fresh outburst of terrorism in the towns.

The Arabs are not sure how far they dare assist the forces of law and order; whether Fakhri Nashashibi's campaign is likely to succeed; and if it does, whether he will exploit his success in the public interest or otherwise. The Jews, who for the most part have long followed Dr. Weizmann's lead, begin to profess to doubt his capacity. The man in the street of either race lives from day to day, not able to plan ahead for weeks or months and suspecting that the morrow may bring new Government restrictions or rebel instructions which will upset his calculations.

In this atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty, it is sufficiently clear that no lasting peace is possible without a political solution of the problem which will achieve a change of heart among the whole population, irrespective of race or creed.

16. I enclose a classified statement of casualties during the year 1938. It will be noticed that "rebels in action" are excluded as it is naturally not possible to compile figures for them with any approach to accuracy.

I have, &c.,

HAROLD MACMICHAEL

High Commissioner for Palestine

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END

Enclosure in No. 13

CASUALTIES IN 1938, EXCLUDING REBELS IN ACTION

	KILLED	WOUNDED	TOTAL
British Army:			
Officers	6	13	19
Other ranks	47	179	226
Royal Air Force:			
Officers	6	2	8
Other ranks	4	6	10
British Police	12	15	27
British official	1	-	1
British non-official	1	2	3
Total British	77	217	294
Arab soldiers and regular police	31	22	53
Arab civilians	467	555	1,022
Total Arab	498	577	1,075
Jewish regular police	8	9	17
Jewish civilians	263	548	811
Total Jewish	271	557	826
Others	10	6	16
TOTALS	856	1,357	2,213